



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

BUHR 8



a39015 00024236 5b



DC
122.9
.75
C7



Freeman sculp.



Thuanus.

Published July 18th 1867 by Longman, Hurst, Ross, & Co. Paternoster Row.

THE
L I F E
OF
THUANUS,
WITH
SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS,
AND A
TRANSLATION
OF THE
PREFACE TO HIS HISTORY.

BY
THE REV. J. COLLINSON, M. A.
OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME,
PATERNOSTER ROW.
1807.



J. D. Dewick, Printer, Aldersgate Street.

Library
Hall
1-19-33
27438

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.

TESTIMONIES to the merit of Thuanus as an historian—By King James I. p. 6—By the Historian Gramond, p. 7—By Mezerai, p. 8—By M. Sorel, p. 9. and from Jugemens des Scavans, ib.—By M. Perault, p. 10—By M. de Vigneul Marville, p. 11—M. le Gendre, 12—Abbè de Fresnoy, ib.—Niceron, 13—M. Dacier, Voltaire, and Lord Carteret, 14—Dr. Knox, 17—Dr. Johnson, and Mr. Pitt, 19.

LIFE OF THUANUS.

Account of his birth and family, p. 1 and 2.—Education at the Burgundian College, 3.—Early habits of reflection, 4.—Studies the civil Law at Orleans, attends Cujacius, forms a friendship with Joseph Scaliger, 6.—The Massacre of St. Bartholomew takes place while he is at Paris, 9—Proposes to take orders, resides with his uncle, the Bishop of

Chartres, begins to collect his library, and forms the plan of his history, 11.—Goes to Italy, in the Suite of De Foix, 12.—Account of De Foix's studies, and Journey to Rome, 13, 14, 15.—Interesting conversation of one of the cardinals with De Foix, 16.—Thuanus returns to Paris, his studious habits, and the friendships he formed, 18.—Makes an excursion to the Netherlands, 19.—Receives his first public honors, and chosen counsellor in the parliament, 20.—His repugnance to public life, 21.—Accompanies his sick brother to the waters of Plombieres, 23.—Visits Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, 24.—Thuanus retires to the Touraine to avoid the plague, 25.—Appointed one of the commissioners to Guienne, and deputed to visit the young King of Navarre, 27.—Anecdotes, 29, 32.—Thuanus's return to Paris, 33 and 34.—Funeral of his father, 35.—Character of his father, 36, 37.

Thuanus quits the ecclesiastical profession, 40.—Obtains the reversion of the office of President of the Parliament, 44.—Marries, 45.—Day of the Barricades, 48.—The King flies from Paris, 49.—Thuanus made a Privy Counsellor, 50.—Conversation with Mon

taigne, 51.—with the Duke of Guise, 52.—
In danger of being killed by the rebels, 55.—
Goes into Germany with Schomberg, 59.—
Conversation with Henry IV. 66,—Resides in
the camp, 71.—Begins his history, 73.—
Verses to posterity, 76.—Thuanus made Pre-
sident a Mortier, 87.—Writes to Casaubon on
the subject of Pithou's death, 89 and 93.—
Amiens surprised, 100.—Verses on Rabelais,
104.—On the reception of the Council of
Trent, 108.—His wife dies, 110.

Publication of his history, 112.—Its recep-
tion at the court of Rome, from 112 to 119.—
Spanish inquisition, 119.—Scioppius's attack
on Thuanus, 121.—Machaud, the Jesuit, at-
tacks Thuanus, 126.—Reception of the history
in England, and the author's correspondence
with Camden, Sir Henry Saville, from 129 to
155.—Reception in other parts of Europe, and
general correspondence from 156 to 175.—
Reception in the Court of France, and letters
from Henry IV. from 175 to 182.—Thuanus
continues his history, conclusion of book 126,
183.—Interesting letter to the President Jean-
nin, 185.—Letter from the Cardinal Joyeuse

and Isaac Casaubon to Thuanus, after his repulse at court, 207 and 209.

Our Author continues his history, 220.---
 Fine Exordium of the 127th book, 220.---Private and domestic life of Thuanus, 228.---Character of our author's friend Le Fevre, 233.---Account of Thuanus's library, 237.---Of the king's library, 240.---Thuanus appointed one of the commissioners at Loudun, 246.---Death of his second wife, 247.---Elegant letter on the occasion from Daniel Heinsius, 248.---Thuanus's will, 254.---Account of his last illness, 254.---Of his children, who survived him, 263.---Of the fate of his library, 267.---His monument, 270.---His character, 271.

ON THE HISTORY OF THUANUS.

Its first publication, 279.---Its publication after his death, 281.---The edition prepared by Carte, 285.---Printed by Buckley, 292.---French and English translations, 294, 295.---Outline of the history, 296.---The first book, 297.---Henry II.'s reign, 305.---Speech of the Duke of Guise at Metz, 309.---Death and character of Henry II. 324.---Francis II. 329.---Charles IX. succeeds to the throne, 334.---Death

CONTENTS.

ix

of Montmorenci, 335.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 339.—Character of Charles IX. 340.—Accession of Henry III. 343.—Assassination of Henry, Duke of Guise, 345.—His character, 348.—Character of Henry III. 351.—Accession of Henry IV. 355.—Flourishing state of France under his government, 357.—Parallel passage from Sully's Memoirs, 359.

CHARACTERS FROM THUANUS.

Character of Cornaro, 362.—Of Michael de L'Hopital, 363.—Of Catherine de Medicis, 365.—Of Elizabeth, Queen of England, 370.—Character of Thuanus's History, 380.

THE PREFACE OF THUANUS.

Design of the author, 389.—His impartiality, 392.—Fears censure on account of his opinions on the subject of religious dissensions, 393.

Religion not to be commanded, 395.—Constancy of religious martyrs, 396.—St. Augustin recommends lenity towards Sectaries, 398.—The primitive church abhorred bloodshed, 400.—Heresy of Priscillian, 403.—Persecution of the Vaudois, 405.—Wise princes lenient to heretics, 407.

Transition to the author's own times, 409.---
 Unhappy effects of persecution in France, 410.
 --In the Netherlands, 412.---Impolitic conduct of the French government, 416.---Civil wars, 417.---Henry IV. a friend to religious toleration, 421.---Similar sentiments of the ancient fathers, 422.---Thuanus himself moderate towards the Protestants, 423.---The true mode of preventing abuses in the state, 424.---And in the church, 426.---Exhorts the King to prosecute the work of reform, 427.

Further vindication of the design of the history, 429.---The author's patriotism, 430.---The preservation of the laws the Palladium of the country, 431.

Encomium of Henry IV. 432.---Thuanus writes his history under the conviction of being allowed to speak his sentiments with freedom, 437.---If the king approves his work, he disregards common censure, 440.---His prayer, 440.

APPENDIX.

Latin verses addressed to posterity, 445.---
 Specimen of Scioppius's remarks, 458.---Exordium of the 127th book, 459.---Thuanus's will, 463.

ERRATA.

Preface, p. vii, 1803 for 1603, Julian style

Page 21 *Tremesque for Tremensque*

68 *Tirenne for Turenne*

71 *Brion for Biron*

78 *Triump for triumph*

78 *How for now*

122 *1707 for 1607*

149 *Nazianzen for Naziansum*

243 *Plendid for splendid.*

272 *Singular for signal.*



TO THE
REV. DR. COLLINSON,
PROVOST OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD, &c.

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,

AS A TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE

AND RESPECT, BY

THE AUTHOR.

EAST SHEEN, *July 3d*, 1807.

PREFACE.

THUANUS was a President of the Parliament of Paris, and a confidential minister to two Kings of France, Henry III. and Henry IV. surnamed the Great; but he is chiefly known to posterity, as the author of a history of his own times; from the year 1546 to 1608. The following testimonies will serve to shew the reputed merit of this work, which is written in Latin, a language general among scholars, and particularly used before the modern languages were as fixed as they now are. So prevalent was it, at a certain period after the revival of learning, that the Latin appellations are often more familiar

to our ears than those of the vernacular tongue; for instance, Thuanus is more common than De Thou, Grotius than De Groot.

Extract of a letter written in French by King James I. of England to Thuanus:

“ With respect to your book, we have not as yet had leisure to read more than half of it, and that cursorily; but we have nevertheless plainly discovered the ability of the author, and have received much delight from the perusal, as well on account of the style as the matter. We are particularly gratified in observing, that, conformably to the advice you give others, partiality, the too common bane of history, is banished from your work. What we have seen encreases our desire to have the sequel of so admirable a composition; and we entreat and require you to gratify, in this respect, the eager curiosity of your friends. Be assured, M. President, no one will be more desirous to

PREFACE.

vii

acknowledge and honor your merit and
virtue than

Your affectionate friend,

JAMES R.

Dated Westminster, March 4, 1803.

From Gramond's History of France,
folio, p. 190, 1643 :

“ In the year 1617 died the President
Thuanus, a man of illustrious family, of
rare learning and experience in public af-
fairs. The history which he composed is
an ample record of his early predilection
for the liberal arts and sciences, and his
affection to learned men, united with the
most ardent patriotism. Foreign nations
have received this work with thanks and
profuse applause : but he needs not their
praise, for his life and writings are the
heralds of his fame. The Latin of Thu-
anus is pure and terse, his style easy, but
sometimes too diffuse ; for he seems to
have aimed at that mode of writing in
which nothing is omitted, and which i

readily understood. This diffuse, easy, eloquent style pleases some readers.

“While as a good statesman, he defended the rights of the French Church, and the prerogative of the French Kings, he incurred suspicion at Rome; but it is certain he was a good Catholic, and that the suspicion was unjust and false.”

Mezerai, History of France, tom. 3, p. 282, folio, 1651.

“The immortal works of Thuanus, in defiance of envy and bad Frenchmen, will testify to all posterity the author’s uncommon learning, wonderful sincerity and candor, his piety without affectation, his disinterested integrity, and above all, the well-grounded zeal which actuated him for the grandeur and prosperity of the state.”

M. Sorel, Bibliothèque Française, 1667.

“The history of the President Thuanus deserves an honorable place. The author

gives the eulogium of the celebrated characters of the age; and omits no fact of note. He has spoken of the Pope, of the monks, and of the league, precisely as a loyal subject of his King ought to speak."

Jugemens des Sçavans, by Baillet, vol. 1, p. 337, 1725.

"Not only Frenchmen, but foreigners also, judge Thuanus to be superior to all modern historians, and equal to the ancients, in the dignity and arrangement of his subject, and in the choice of a style suited to the majesty of history."

Ibid. vol. 2, p. 250.

"Thuanus is distinguished from most of the writers of his age, by a spirit of genuine freedom, which enabled him, with equal wisdom, to avoid the extremes into which zealous Catholics on one side, and most Protestant writers on the other, have fallen. This circumstance gives him a peculiar advantage over the three celebrated Cardinals, Baronius, Bellarmin,

PREFACE.

and Du Perron ; since, being exempt from their prejudices and interests, he suffers neither fear nor hope, nor any other passion, to bias his pen or his judgment. It must be confessed he makes too favorable mention of a crowd of writers who have not passed mediocrity ; yet these short biographical sketches at the end of each year, form one of the most interesting parts of the work."

Our Historian was considered hostile to the Jesuits, and a favourer of the Protestants ; yet Papirius Masso, who was a Jesuit, says that, " to blame his history for its freedom, is the same thing as to reject wine on account of its strength ;" and the continuator of Baronius, La Sponde, terms it " the great history of a great man."

M. Perrault, * after saying that Thuanus united in his own person all the good

* Lives of Illustrious Persons, tom. 1, p. 41. fol. 1696.

qualities of his ancestors, " a good heart, a love of justice, and all that is requisite for forming a complete character in the points of probity, courage, wisdom, and science ;" praises his history for its " unexampled accuracy and fidelity. This noble and generous boldness," he adds, " gained him the praise of all the great men of his time, particularly of Papirius Masso ; and his writings would perhaps be superior to many left by Latin authors, had he not too much attempted to imitate their language, and, thus disfigured in a strange manner the names of persons and places."

M. de Vigneul Marville* notices the same defect, but praises Thuanus for a purity and eloquence of style. These are also his words : " Cannot France boast of possessing a Livy in this author ? The intrigues of the cabinet were no mystery to him ; he thoroughly knew the in-

* *Mélanges de Littérature and d'Histoire*, tom, 3, p. 312, 1725.

terests of the different princes in Europe, and their schemes in negotiating. He is always accurate and judicious, and, what is still more necessary in an historian, devoid of prejudice and passion."

M. Le Gendre (History of France, tom. 1, p. 56), thinks the history in question too prolix; but bestows abundant commendation upon it, similar to what has been already adduced.

The Abbé du Fresnoy* expresses his surprize, "that a thousand insignificant books should have found editors and printers, and that no person should yet have thought of giving a good edition of the history of Thuanus, a work so useful and even necessary, and which is certainly much more valuable than the body of Italian Antiquities published by Grevius in forty folio volumes."†

* Methode pour étudier l'Histoire, tom. 1. p. 98, 1729.

† Most of the above extracts are collected in the 7th vol. of Buckley's edition of Thuanus, to which

This collection of testimonies in favor of Thuanus might be much extended; but it will be sufficient for the present purpose to add the following, in which some names of great authority in our own country bear part.

The learned Nicéron, in his *Memoirs of Illustrious Persons*, has compiled an ample and judicious account of this author and his writings. He passes a general encomium upon the merit of his history; and particularly commends the Preface, as a master-piece of its kind, with which, he says, only two other similar compositions deserve to be placed on a level, the Dedication of Calvin's *Institutes* to Francis the First, and of Casaubon's *Polybius* to Henry the Fourth. This passage of Nicéron pro-

the reader, who wishes for farther details on the subject, is referred: and also to the *History of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions*, vol. 13, p. 691, and vol. 43, p. 598; to *Les Jugemens des Savans* by Baillet, vol. 1, p. 113; 2, 84; 4, 166; 5, 131; 8, 127; to *Moreri's Dictionary*, Article De Thou; and to Nicéron's *Memoirs of Illustrious Persons*, vol. 9, p. 309.

bably suggested to Dr. Warton a remark to the same purpose, which occurs in his Essay on the Genius of Pope.

M. Dacier in the Preface to his translation of Plutarch, uses these expressions respecting Thuanus : " 'This great historian sustains the honor of France, in that branch of literature, in competition with the writers of Greece and Rome. His works are as remarkable for depth and energy of thought, as for sincerity and truth.' "

Voltaire * places Thuanus in the same rank with Guicciardini and Hume, and calls him " an historian distinguished for eloquence and veracity."

The next encomium is a translation from a copious critique, written in Latin by the celebrated Lord Carteret. " 'Thuanus deserves to be ranked among historians of the first eminence, on account of the copiousness and dignity of his sub-

* See Index to his " Mœurs."

ject : and he has illustrated it with singular propriety of style. No writer ever offered a more splendid tribute to the honor of his country. He was a strenuous defender of the constitutional rights of the French nation, and supplied his countrymen with most powerful arguments in their support. He has placed in the clearest light the rights of the House of Bourbon.

“ The work taken altogether is long ; but its different parts, considered separately, will not be found so. He takes his reader the circuit of the globe, always affords delight, and generally instruction of the most useful kind. The merit of the history chiefly consists in what relates to the courts of Rome, France, and Spain : and here he may justly be deemed an original source of information. The relations of different courts with that of France he has collected with diligence ; and the variety of matter continually captivates the reader.

“ In this extensive work various histories, distinct from the general heads, are comprized. The progress of literature is beautifully interwoven in the narration with wonderful address and labor: and splendid encomiums are bestowed on more than four hundred of the author's contemporaries, who gained celebrity by their writings in different parts of the world.

“ The mildness of his censures convey a favourable impression of his disposition: but upon merit, wherever it is found, he bestows just and impartial praise, without regard to nation or religion. On this account the Court of Rome persecuted him with implacable hatred.

“ The construction of the whole composition deserves the highest commendation. It contains matter so abundant and so various, that from this single work, might be formed several distinct histories, brief yet complete, full of important and curious information, and which most rea-

ders would receive with avidity. But collected as they now are, in one mass, so many folio volumes, composed in Latin, and comprizing the events of only sixty years, deter many from the perusal.

“The edition Mr. *Buckley is preparing for the press, will reflect honor on the English nation, by asserting the due lustre and dignity of one of the best historians, and most upright champions of freedom, the world ever saw.”

Dr. Knox, Essay 59 : “The history of Thuanus excites a great share of respect immediately on entering on the perusal of it. The solemn declaration in which he calls God and man to witness, that he wrote his history for the glory of God, and the good of mankind, without resentment or partiality ; the strong and repeated protestations that truth is his only guide, warmly interest the reader in his favor, and open his mind for a reception

*Buckley's edition was published in 1733.

of all that follows. The very serious prayer which closes the first book, displays a venerable appearance of sincerity and dignity ; and there is every reason to believe, that it proceeded from a mind sincerely pious, and firmly resolved to propagate the truth and the truth only, as far as human sagacity can develop it."

Dr. Knox proceeds thus, "If Thuanus does not equal, he approaches in the excellence of his style, in dignity and in copiousness, the best models of antiquity. One circumstance has contributed to diminish the graces of his style ; which he could not well avoid. Modern names of places and persons must abound in a work of this kind ; but modern names have in general a barbarous sound in a work written in Latin. Thuanus did right in latinizing them, but he has taken too great liberties. He has totally disguised them. Who but an *Œdipus* could discern that *Quadrigarius* was the Latin name of Chartier, or *Interamnas* of Entragues.

Desmarets is translated Paludanus ; Du-bois, Sylvius, &c. This defect has been in a great measure remedied by the diligence of the last editor (Buckley), who has supplied to each page the modern appellations."

Dr. * Johnson seriously entertained thoughts of translating Thuanus, and thus sufficiently evinced the opinion he had of his excellence. And Mr. Pitt, † in the House of Commons, bestowed upon our author, a tribute of no light commendation.

Since the French historian of his own times has been thus highly estimated in the opinion of competent and impartial judges, his life and writings appear to be just objects of literary curiosity.

The great work of Thuanus has yet a higher claim to attention. It records a series of events, unparalleled in the history

* See Boswell's Life, vol. 3, p. 691.

† Pitt's Speeches, vol. 2, p. 94.

of the Christian Church, and more important to the political state of Europe, than any that have occurred in modern times, except only those of a very recent date. It is no small advantage to have this momentous period treated by an historian, who was not only an eye-witness, but actively and honorably engaged in the passing scenes; and whose character is so well established in the essential points of fidelity and judgment.

THE LIFE OF THUANUS.

THE chief materials of the subsequent life, and the passages with inverted commas in particular, are taken from the Latin Memoirs of Thuanus; who, under the character of a third person, speaks of himself without unbecoming egotism. This work was first published after the author's decease, with some immaterial additions, by his friends and executors, Rigaltius and Du Puy.

JAMES AUGUSTUS THUANUS, or DE THOU, was born at Paris, October 9th, 1553. His ancestors, two hundred years before, possessed a domain near Orleans, in the reign of Philip de Valois.

At a subsequent period his family removing to Paris, rose to distinction in the law; and his grandfather and father successively filled the office of first President of the Parliament,* which is the highest dignity in that profession.

His father, Christopher, had by his wife, Jacqueline Tulleau, four daughters, and two other sons, John and Christopher.

The subject of these memoirs, who was the youngest son, passed his childhood with very delicate and precarious health; and, on this account, the business of education was in part neglected, and at all times conducted with indulgence. Yet he gave proofs of much facility in learning; and, instead of the common sports of his age, amused himself with copying with a pen Albert Durer's engravings. By the same practice he learned to write before he could read.

* The parliament of Paris was then the supreme court of judicature in France.

At the age of ten he was sent to the Burgundian College, in the university of Paris : but a violent fever occasioned him to be carried home again within the year. So little hope was entertained of his recovery, that his bed was removed from the anti-room of his father's chamber, that he might not die there. During his illness, Gabrielle, a lady of the illustrious family of Mareuil, attended him with the most tender solicitude. " Being desired not to fatigue herself in a case which had been pronounced desperate, she said that she had conceived more favorable hopes, and thought also that her charge gave signs of an excellent disposition, which would one day repay the care of his friends."

Seven months passed before he returned to school ; and his health was probably still unsettled, as it is mentioned that four of his tutors were of the medical profession. In the account of his boyish years, that observant turn of mind, solid judgment, frankness and sensibility of temper,

which formed the distinguishing features of his character, already display themselves.

At this early period he "remarked the error of parents, who, having delivered their children into the hands of instructors, think farther superintending care unnecessary: though greater wisdom would be shewn in appointing trusty attendants, who might prevent them from wasting time, and from acquiring improper and immoral habits. From the consideration of what he then experienced, he learned to be more attentive in the education of his own children. But excessive application, at a premature age, he ever disapproved, and wondered, in this respect, at the conduct of so great a man as Quintilian, whose son, a youth of great promise, fell a victim to intense study. To this event posterity is indebted for that admirable specimen of eloquence at the beginning of the sixth book of his Institutes.

“Thuanus possessed greater love of learning than strength of genius or memory; and profited more by cultivating the society of eminent men, than by any application of his own, the fatigue of which his constitution could not bear. He enjoyed the most perfect liberty, particularly in his studies; and being left, as it were, to the guidance of his own discretion, marked out a plan of conduct for himself. It was his earnest desire to be admitted to the company of celebrated literary characters; and having seen Turnebus * a little before his death, the impression made upon his imagination was so lively, that the image of this great man appeared continually in his dreams.”

After a residence of five years in the same college, he attended the lectures of Dionysius Lambinus in polite learning,

* A man of consummate erudition, and equal modesty. See Montaigne Essay on Pedants, to whom he brings Turnebus as a contrast.

and the royal professor of Greek, Pellerin. By a talent for poetry he ingratiated himself with the noted Ronsard.

At the age of seventeen he went to Orleans to study the civil law; but had scarcely remained there a year, when the fame of Cujacius* drew him into Dauphiny; and in his way he spent some months at Bourges, with the celebrated civilian, Hotman.

While in Dauphiny, he commenced a friendship with Joseph Scaliger, which continued unabated during thirty-eight years. "This friendship is the pride and pleasure of his life; and all the calumnies, inconvenience, and danger, which it has occasioned him, are in his mind amply balanced by the bare recollection of an

* The learned and amiable Cujacius obtained the title of father of his scholars. When his opinion was asked upon religious questions, then agitated with warmth, he used to say, *Nil hoc ad edictum prætoris*—"This is not a lawyer's business."

intercourse so agreeable. And this is all the reply he desires to make to the virulence of his malicious accusers. He can, indeed, solemnly affirm that he never heard this great man dispute on the controverted points of religion; and he is well assured that he never did discuss them but upon provocation, and then unwillingly. What! independently of religious opinions, were there not in Scaliger the most transcendant attainments of human erudition, from which those who associated with him might justly hope to profit? And did not the singular endowments bestowed upon him by heaven claim the veneration and esteem of all worthy men? Alas! Religion, which formerly rested on the pillars of faith, hope, and charity, is now thought to need the aid of faction, and the intrigues of human subtlety. Man, presumptuous man, attributing too much to his own powers, derogates in the same proportion from that over-ruling provi-

dence which directs and governs all things. Hence God's indignation is abroad: he has suffered us to be blinded by our passions; and it is to be feared that corruption, spreading like a gangrene, may be permitted to devour his primitive establishment, and that while the kingdom of Christ is sought in one place and another, only a scanty remnant may escape to serve him in the spirit of unity, truth, and moderation.

“ Many persons have heard Thuanus, and his admirable friend, Nicholas le Fevre,* conversing together, after this manner, concerning the degenerate state of christianity; confirming each other in their obligations of duty, and in the resolution of dying, upon extremity, like brave soldiers, at their post, regardless of affliction, hatred, and obloquy, which

* A critic and scholar, of great mildness and piety. He was preceptor to the Prince of Condé, and to Lewis XIII. son of Henry IV.

are trials allotted to the best men, and should be considered, indeed, as testimonies of divine favor."

The following year his father, "perhaps foreboding some melancholy event," recalled him to Paris; which city, at that time, resounded with preparations for the nuptials of the young king of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois, sister to Charles IX. King of France. Thuanus, with some difficulty, gained admission to the ceremony, and took particular notice of the celebrated Coligni, chief of the Protestant party, and who, not many days after, was wounded by a concealed assassin. This occurrence first interrupted the public tranquillity; and on the 24th of August, six days after the nuptials, ensued the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew. Of this transaction, Thuanus expresses his decided detestation, and defends his opinion against the prevailing arguments of the time, by the example of his father, an acknowledged Catholic,

whom he considers an unexceptionable guide in all political and religious concerns, and who applied to that day these verses of Statius :

Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
Sæcula ; nos certè taceamus, et obruta multâ
Nocte tēgi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.

May that foul day be blotted in time's flight,
And buried in th' oblivious gloom of night :
We will at least forbear the deed to name,
Nor let posterity believe our shame.

As he went to mass, for the festival of St. Bartholomew took place that year on a Sunday, he was forced to behold some of the mangled bodies, and "to suppress his tears, which even the slaughter of beasts would have excited in one of his tender disposition," he retired from the tumult to a house of his brother Christopher's, near Montmartre, from which place the body of Coligni, suspended on a gibbet, was discernible. "Having lately seen that victorious general crowned with honor and triumph,

he was induced to reflect on the vicissitudes of life, and silently to adore the wonderful judgments of God, which continually remind man of his frail and perishable state."

At the age of twenty, Thuanus went to reside at Paris, with his uncle Nicholas, Bishop of Chartres, and continued fourteen years under his roof. He resided in the cloister of the cathedral of Notre Dame, and was appointed to a canonry in that church, which his uncle, upon taking the bishopric, had resigned. As it was intended that he should pursue the ecclesiastical profession, and succeed his uncle in the bishopric, he applied himself assiduously to the study of the canon law, and of the Greek language. At that time he began to collect his library, afterwards so distinguished for extent and value; and we shall soon observe that he had already formed the design of his great historical work. Of such excellence and magnitude were the plans

which occupied Thuanus, at a period of life generally devoted, without censure, to pursuits of little moment: and we know not which most to admire, that early ripeness of intellect, which could, by its own unassisted vigor, conceive them, or the consistent steadiness of character that persevered in bringing them to completion.

An ardent wish to see the classical land of Italy procured him another honorable engagement. He obtained admission into the suit of Paul de Foix, who was preparing to set out on an embassy from Charles IX. to the Pope, and other Italian princes. De Foix was a learned and accomplished nobleman; and his character is thus summed up, "Wherever he went he gave universal satisfaction, but Thuanus could never satisfy himself in praising him, always leaving something unsaid."

The account of his domestic studies is curious, as it contains many things very

opposite to modern manners. Regular lectures, at different times of the day, were read to his household in physics, law, and polite learning; and De Foix himself sometimes expounded these subjects. He joined in the general homage then paid to Aristotle; and used to quote a saying of one of his admirers, "that if he were not a Christian, he would follow Aristotle in all things." And in the course of his embassy, he would not admit to a conference some student who had broached heretical opinions concerning this philosopher.

The celebrated D'Ossat, afterwards Cardinal, made one of the suite, who is said to have united the greatest probity with the most consummate skill in politics. "In their morning rides he used to give De Foix the substance of Plato's Dialogues, and because he was fond of the conciseness of the Peripatetic school, reduced within a narrow compass the florid copiousness of those beautiful compositions."

The following are the most memorable occurrences before the arrival of the embassy at Rome. "At Mantua they were shewn a sleeping Cupid, carved in marble by Michael Angelo. After they had gazed on it for some time, in high admiration of the workmanship, another was produced from a silken bandage, by some ancient artist (as he is represented in the Greek epigrams), so exquisitely finished, that it quite eclipsed the first, and made it appear nothing but an inanimate block. It was said, Michael Angelo had the greatness of mind to desire they might always be exhibited in that manner."

At Venice, Thuanus took care to be accommodated in the only lodging then of good repute in that vicious and dissipated city.

At Florence they were introduced to Cosmo, once the most illustrious of all the Italian princes of his time, but then a decrepid, superannuated invalid. In the

library at this town, Thuanus saw a large commentary on Aristotle, never published, entitled, "The Ocean;" a MS. Virgil, in capital letters; and, in particular, examined the famous original Pandect, taken at Constantinople. "Cujacius had in vain desired to borrow this volume for a year, on a pledge of two thousand gold crowns. He declared that of all his wishes for the promotion of science, this alone remained ungratified, and would continue, even in his dying moments."

At Sienna, Thuanus, having already conceived the design of his history, took an accurate survey of the place, memorable for the long siege it sustained," in the year 1555.

When they arrived at Rome, Thuanus was admitted, with the rest of the embassy, to pay the usual homage of kissing the Pope's foot. In a short time the news of the king's death reached them; and De Foix departed for the Venetian

territories to pay his respects to the new king, Henry III. who was expected there in his way from Poland.

During their residence at Rome, the following interesting communication was made privately, and in the presence only of Thuanus, by one of the cardinals to De Foix, who had a vexatious cause pending in the ecclesiastical court. "Our court," said the Cardinal di Santa Croce, "is disposed, when it can really exercise severity with impunity, to oppress foreigners, and to protract the causes of men of rank by unnecessary delays, for the purpose of making our name revered and feared abroad. The papal power flourishes indeed through the prevalence of weakness and superstition; and, as the crafty Florentine* says, is supported by those acts which prove ruinous to other empires. When the parties discover vigor and spirit, this

* Machiavelli.

severity is relaxed cautiously, and with much dissimulation. For instance, the Chevalier de St. Goard (who I am informed is now your ambassador at the court of Spain) had directions from the King of France to reclaim one of his subjects, who had been unjustly seized by the Holy Office. After much expostulation and solicitation, continued from day to day, he at length, with a resolute air, told the Pope in council, that he had orders from the king his master to depart, and to take the French ambassador with him, unless satisfaction were given; and, having thus said, left the spot. The Pope * was much enraged, abused him, after he was gone, in violent terms, and, tossing about his arms, cried out that the papal authority would be extinct, if thus braved with impunity by a boy. The result, however, was, that the gentleman in question was shortly released.

* Pius IV.

Let me recommend you, Sir, to profit by this example ; and, remembering the advice, to forget the monitor."

Perhaps it may not appear unworthy of remark in this place, that, in the management of this cause of De Foix, D'Ossat first displayed his abilities for business, and laid the foundation of his future fame and success in life.

Thuanus, after paying a short visit to his brother John, Master of the Requests, at Lyons, and another to his father, returned to Paris, with many valuable purchases of books, collected in his way from Rome ; and there " devoted himself, for four years, to a life of literary application. He made still greater improvement by frequenting the society of eminent scholars, among whom were the two Pithous, L'Oisel, Houillier, Du Puy, and particularly that excellent man, Nicholas le Fevre."

This year Thuanus did not quit his books, except to attend, with his father

and brother, at the marriage of the king with Louisa of Lorraine, which took place at Rheims.

In 1576 he made an excursion into the Netherlands, and observed at Antwerp, that Plantin the printer, though his business was declining, had no less than seventeen presses at work. He was prevented from passing into Holland by the troubles which were then breaking out in that country, on account of religion. Upon his return he found every thing in agitation, from the same cause, at home: but the disorders occasioned by violent councils, were happily appeased by a new edict of pacification.

The next year, when the king resided at Poitiers, Thuanus's brother, John, was employed by him as the bearer of important dispatches. "Being a young man of great strength and spirit, he undertook too much during the intense heat of summer, and exhausted himself by a journey of uncommon expedi-

tion.* He fell in consequence into a lingering illness, and Thuanus had the inexpressible grief of seeing his vital powers gradually decline."

In the year 1578 he received his first public honors; and was chosen Counsellor of the Ecclesiastical Order in Parliament, in the room of La Garde. "Yet while this gentleman was lying ill, he sincerely prayed for his recovery; for being of a modest retiring disposition, fond of honorable leisure, he was unwilling to relinquish his studies, and engage in the tumult of active life. He did not so much decline honors, as experience a secret terror and repugnance to appear in any office of public distinction, while he sensibly felt his own deficiencies, and feared that he might disappoint expectation. He wished to follow rather than to guide the course of fortune, and to commit

* He went from Poitiers to Longjumeau in twenty-four hours.

himself and his concerns in confident security to the paternal guidance of providence. But far from being careless of the public welfare, it was the object of his constant solicitude, to so great a degree, that while he has borne domestic afflictions with fortitude, he has often suffered seriously in his health, from a keen sense of national calamities. These he has generally predicted, and his feelings on the subject of public misfortunes are still as acute as ever, notwithstanding the kind remonstrances of his friends.

“ On the present occasion, as it was agreeable to his father’s wishes that he should not appear inattentive to his proper interests, and those of his family, he submitted to the customary examination in the laws, which lasted two hours before a numerous court. He went pale and trembling (*pallens tremesque*), and not as those generally do, who approach that awful place with a brazen forehead and Stentorean voice.

“ In the office itself this was his conduct: he listened attentively and spoke little; he treated the presidents with due respect, his colleagues with honor; he paid great deference to the old and experienced, and cultivated a frank and generous friendship with the young. In delivering his opinion, he contented himself with referring to that judgment, already given, which seemed to him most equitable, and seldom added more words, except by way of confirmation.

“ At the beginning of a speech he was agitated; his voice gained strength as he proceeded. In consequence of this agitation, much that he had premeditated used to escape his memory, naturally not very retentive. This defect he candidly acknowledged, and, in order to remedy it, accustomed himself to commit his thoughts to writing, and to speak as it were from a brief; and this method he afterwards practised in causes of the first importance. At first, as has been said,

he felt embarrassed, and though his judgment was seldom very erroneous, his expressions and arguments were broken and defective, like the conclusion of a lame verse."

In 1579 Thuanus accompanied his sick brother and his wife to the waters of Plombieres, but unhappily the use of them was without effect. When his brother was settled at Plombieres, Thuanus made a short excursion into Germany. At Strasburg he visited Languet, the illustrious prime minister of the Elector of Saxony, who gave him much valuable information respecting the Germanic constitution. "From him he learned that the abolition of celibacy had greatly distressed the German princes and nobles, as they were now obliged to bestow their daughters in marriage, with a portion, whom they formerly dedicated to a religious life, with the prospect of their becoming abbesses of rich convents." This remark tends to prove that these

German nobles did not embrace the reformed religion from interested motives.

He took Ulm and Burgaw in his route, which last town is "the only part of the Archduke Ferdinand's immense dominions appropriated to his children by Phillipine Welser. A strong instance of the respect paid to the marriage institution by the Germans, who do not permit the children by a clandestine or unequal union, to be reputed legitimate, or to claim inheritance." It is to be feared, that since the time of Thuanus these elevated sentiments, and the vigor of the German empire, have declined together.

"The sight of Constance brought to his recollection the famous council assembled there in 1414, which so happily healed the schisms of the Papacy; and he felt an anxious wish that the same influence might operate in his own times."

Upon his return he found no amendment in his brother's health, and had

him conveyed back to Paris; where, after lingering a few months longer, he expired, repeating this verse of the 50th Psalm, "Cast me not away from thy presence, O Lord, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me."

After this melancholy event, his uncles, Nicholas, Bishop of Chartres, and Augustin, King's Advocate, urged his father, considering the small number to which their family was reduced (for Christopher, the second son, died young), to think of altering the destination of Thuanus in life. The father assented, but neither he nor his son being earnest in the business, it was suffered for the present to fall to the ground.

This year, to avoid the plague which broke out in Paris, Thuanus retired into the Touraine, and amused himself with travelling along the coast. At Caen he visited the tomb of William of Normandy, King of England; and, in the hall of the abbey, saw, wrought in clay, the arms

of the knights who attended him in his expedition to that country. "The citadel, which had some time before surrendered to Coligni, Queen Catharine said might have been defended by women with their distaffs."

Continuing his journey he passed near Avranches, St. Michael's Mount, a monastery remarkable for its singular scite, on a naked rock, some leagues in the sea.

In 1581 commissioners were appointed from the parliament to administer justice in the province of Guienne, and Thuanus was admitted among them, together with his friends, Pithou and L'Oisel.

"His uncles again pressed their former remonstrances; which his father, naturally dilatory, waved on the plea of the urgency of public business: but he began to think seriously of the matter himself. When at Venice, in 1574, Du Ferrier, an old friend of his father, had admonished him not to enter into the ecclesiastical profession from the mere hope of temporal

advantage: and this exhortation, which at the time made great impression, now recurred to his mind with increased effect. He revolved in his thoughts the high importance of the sacred office, and his own inability; and whether it were not better to pursue his inclination for retirement, and to decline the splendor of an exalted station. In conclusion, he tacitly inclined to quit his profession, and bent his thoughts to marriage, if an opportunity should offer."

Upon the arrival of the commissioners in Guienne, Thuanus was deputed by them to wait on the Prince of Conde, and the young King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. and experienced a most gracious reception from both these princes.

The court sate at Bourdeaux; but Thuanus did not suffer the business of it to interrupt his studious habits. On the contrary he carefully profited by an intercourse with persons who could, in any

way, promote the historical undertaking he had in contemplation. Montaigne, author of the *Essays*, "at that time mayor of the town, a gentleman of frank temper, and independent of parties, communicated much valuable information."

During the vacations the commissioners made several excursions for the sake of relaxation. Rambling cross the Garonne, into the beautiful country of Medoc, along the Bay of Biscay, they compared themselves to Scipio and Lælius, gathering shells and pebbles on the shores of Caieta and Laurentum.*

At the Easter vacation they made a tour into Gascony. "A Protestant minister of one of the towns, had, by command of Joan, Queen of Navarre, translated the New Testament and Catechism (*Catechismus*) into the Gascon, or Biscayan language, which, like the Bas Breton, and the Irish, was consi-

* See Cicero de Oratore, lib. ii, s. 22.

dered incapable of being committed to writing."

At Bayonne they were struck with the singular dresses of the women, which varied with their ages and conditions, and appeared like masquerade.

The following incidents, related in the memoirs, though not strictly connected with the purport of this work, are admitted here because they shew the manners of the times, the weakness which had prevailed in the administration of justice in those countries, before the arrival of the Parisian commissioners, and the integrity with which they executed their office. "One Gaillard, an officer in the army, had conceived an animosity against a person of his own profession, who lived in the neighbourhood: and attended by a band of ruffians, broke open his house by night. The man, startled and surprized, leaped up in his shirt, and made a brave defence with his sword. He was, however, murdered, with his

brother, wife, and a small number of servants. Vengeance quickly pursued the assassins; for, as they roamed about the house in search of plunder, a barrel of gunpowder accidentally blew up. Some were crushed in the ruins; others remained extended on the ground, naked, scorched, half dead. In this condition the officers of justice found them no longer formidable, and conveyed them in a cart into the town, where they presented a miserable spectacle, black, disfigured, and retaining nothing human, except their horrid cries. After a short examination they were all broken on the wheel. Gaillard himself, a fine man in person, had suffered like the rest, and had besides received a wound in the head, at the beginning of the fray; but he behaved intrepidly to the last, avowing the whole, and accusing, with insolent obstinacy, the poor murdered man of having caused the destruction of so many brave soldiers; so he called his infamous associates.

“ At another time, a young person of condition withdrew herself, under the plea of religion, from her mother, and married a young man in inferior life. As this union had not been consummated, the commissioners declared it null and void, and forbade the young man, on pain of death, to have any intercourse with her; but at the same time restrained the mother from using arbitrary measures on the subject of her daughter's religion. This decree was meant as a check upon clandestine marriages, and to prevent the disorders of this nature which had invaded many families of rank.”

Thuanus prepared to return to his father, who had made interest for his recall, “ Perhaps (as he says in his fondness for presages) forboding his own decease.”

Travelling, with his friend Pithou, through Languedoc and Provence, they stopped at the castle of Leytour, in

Armagnac, where the Count d'Armagnac was murdered, it is thought, with the privity of Louis XI. "And the stain of his blood cannot be effaced from the walls."

An occurrence had taken place here, not unlike the ferocious act of Gaillard. "The sister of the late Governor De Baleines had been seduced by an officer, who afterwards married another person. The injured woman, in the bitterness of resentment, told the secret to her brother, who desired the whole affair might be left to him. The seducer was invited to an entertainment, where every thing passed in the usual manner; but when the guests retired, he was seized, and put in chains. Then followed a trial; the sister appeared and confirmed his guilt, of which he was condemned to make a written acknowledgement. To complete this remarkable scene, De Baleines, who had acted the part of judge and examiner, was also the executioner, and plunged a

poniard in the bosom of his guest. He wrote a defence of his conduct to the King of Navarre, who, not thinking it a time for severity, only removed him from his situation."

As the two friends pursued their journey, in the church of St. Oren, they remarked very antique altars, not flat, but of a gibbous form, with the Greek initials of the name of Christ; and at Toulouse, (the next city to Paris in extent and beauty) a statue of the Virgin Isaura, who instituted a prize for poetry in the 14th century.

At Pezenas, Thuanus met with a flattering reception from the Prince of Condé; and at his table the practice of fighting duels was condemned.

He then passed Arles, an archiepiscopal see, consecrated to Trophimus, perhaps the same mentioned by St. Paul. In the journal of this excursion, of which it is needless to enter into all the particulars, mention is made of a poem, which Thu-

anus composed about this time on the Art of Falconry.

At Clermont Achilles Harlay, President of the Parliament, who had married his sister, received him with great affection. "Near his residence is a spring which petrifies from its source."

Thuanus, still proceeding on his journey, came by way of Thiers to Lyons; and while he remained in that city, his father died,* but he was not informed of the event, until he approached Paris. Before his arrival there, indeed, he visited on the road several friends, who knew the circumstance, but were unwilling to inform him. Among these were Brulard, one of the first presidents; and the Abbot of the Cisterian Monastery, "the most eminent in Christendom, for on it are dependent monasteries to the number of one thousand and seventy, and nearly as many nunneries."

* In November, on the Feast of All Saints, 1582.

“ At Boissy, the last stage to Paris, his attendants revealed to him the loss he had sustained; and mounting his horse, he finished the journey in absence of thought, and profound grief at so unexpected a calamity.

“ The body had on that very day been interred; and the city was still full of the mournful pomp. The funeral had been delayed until the 15th day by the King's direction, that it might take place with greater magnificence; and all the property of the deceased, amounting to 4000 gold crowns, were expended on it. He indeed had been too disinterested to accumulate wealth, and was only careful to be free from debt. The widow, thus left without provision, made no complaint when the *King and Queen-Mother made her a visit of condolence. She was only heard to say that Providence had been sufficiently bountiful to her and her fa-

* Henry III. and Catherine of Medecis.

mily, and that with the blessing of divine grace, she wanted nothing. The King was confounded, and quitted the place somewhat indignant and mortified that he had not an opportunity to manifest his generosity, which the unworthy were accustomed to share in lavish profusion."

At the end of the 75th book of his History, Thuanus relates more particulars respecting his father, and informs us that he incurred the King's displeasure by the honest freedom of his expostulations. "On one occasion, when he recommended moderation in levying taxes, lest the people should be incited to discontent, Henry III. turning to his courtiers, said, 'The good man is in his dotage.' This insult, Thuanus adds, his father disregarded; but at the same time ascribes his death to chagrin arising from the unhappy state of public affairs. He had however entered upon his 75th year, and had been married 50 years. He died universally respected and lamented, and the

same king, who could not brook his admonitions, when afterwards encompassed with troubles, did justice to his memory by saying, that Paris would not have revolted from its Sovereign if the President Thuanus had been alive."

These circumstances serve to account for that proud independence of spirit, with which the widow rejected the royal profers of assistance.

Thuanus, with much warmth of filial affection, expatiates both in his memoirs and his history, on the virtues of his father. He extols his legal science, religion, unaffected gravity of manners, and innocence of life; on which accounts no person possessed greater popularity and influence in Paris.

"A physician of eminence dissected the body, and expressed much admiration at the close and full structure of the brain;" the testimony of the same person is adduced to the conjugal happiness of the President and his wife, founded upon

primitive simplicity of character and every domestic virtue.

“The pious son, prevented from receiving his father’s last breath, determined at least to transmit his memory to posterity. He erected two monuments, one in a private family chapel, and the other in the church of St. Andrew of the Arches; and at the end of two years, when they were completed, celebrated a public funeral, at which the friends of the deceased in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, were present by invitation.”

Affection to his friends and relations was one of the most prominent features of Thuanus’s character. His qualities indeed bore a general resemblance to those of his father, but they were more distinguished.

In the memoirs many things, unconnected with the life of the Author, are occasionally related in the manner of a diary or common-place book; and, among

others an account is given, at the conclusion of this year, of a singular religious procession which took place in the streets of Paris at midnight. The company of each sex and all ages, to the number of six thousand, with the clergy at their head, passed under ornamental arches, singing hymns, in solemn supplication; and at intervals tables were laid with refreshments. The ceremony was confined to one parish, and appears designed for extraordinary occasions of public joy or grief.

No account appears of the next year. In 1584 Thuanus had the misfortune to lose his sister, wife of the Chancellor du Chiverni.

“ Having now desisted for some time from performing the offices of the church, and resigned most of his benefices, he was pressed by his mother to disengage himself entirely from the ministry. As a step to this, he obtained, through the interest of the Queen-Mother, the place

of Master of the Requests, which it was the custom to grant indiscriminately to clergymen and laymen."

"In order to relieve his mind from the severe affliction which he felt on account of the death of his father and sister," he engaged, at this mature period of life, in a new course of study; and read through Euclid with Proclus's Commentaries, under the direction of Bressiau, Royal Professor of Mathematics. His attention was also vigorously directed to other pursuits: he undertook to prepare for the press an edition of the poems of the celebrated Michael de l'Hopital; and he began a poetical paraphrase of the Book of Job, in Latin verse. "This work was completed in the course of two years, and published with a dedication to his friend Pithou, of whose critical advice he always availed himself, persuaded that what passed the ordeal of his judgment would meet with general approbation."

"Frequently had Augustin, his uncle,

King's Advocate, pressed Thuanus to solicit the reversion of his place, which he candidly acknowledged he owed to his father. He was at this time offered the situation of President a Mortier,* but would not accept it until his nephew had bound himself by a religious obligation to exert all his interest in obtaining a nomination as his successor. Thuanus himself consented, with some reluctance, to this agreement, and also to a promise of using greater diligence and exertion in the conduct of his private affairs."

Upon the death of Pope Gregory XIII. the Cardinal de Vendome (of the house of Bourbon) was appointed the King's Ambassador to Rome. "The Cardinal, from his love of letters, had formed an

* So called from their velvet caps with gold tassels, which were anciently worn by the Kings of France. The Presidents a Mortier were inferior coadjutors to the First President.

intimacy with Thuanus, and was thought, in public matters, to pay great consideration to his advice. Our author now proposed accompanying him to Rome, and was bound for a large sum of money on his behalf; which circumstance, after the Cardinal's death, occasioned him much trouble and inconvenience.

“ It was indeed ever his fortune to form connections with the great during their adversity, without the prospect of other reward than the treasure of a good conscience. On the other hand, he has quietly withdrawn from the sun-shine of their prosperity, and made room for a swarm of faithless courtiers, whose flattery becomes too agreeable, and by its influence renders truth unpalatable. Hence the seed of good offices which he sowed (forgive the invidiousness of the remark) has perpetually produced the harvest of ingratitude. The consistency of his own character is however dearer to him than any thing else; and he is resolved to

persevere with patience in well-doing. It is impossible for him to repent of having preserved his innocence and honor, unblemished by a servile obsequiousness; and no sufferings can produce in this respect an alteration in his conduct."

From the general terms here used, the charge of ingratitude seems to extend to King Henry IV. especially as he makes little mention of that prince in any writings subsequent to the dedication of his history. After patronizing this work for some time, Henry yielded to the clamour raised against it, fearful perhaps of engaging himself in religious disputes, which might again kindle the flame of discord in the realm; but he never withdrew his protection from the person of Thuanus.

Meanwhile, in compliance with his mother's repeated solicitations, he removed his residence to her house. But he continued negligent in making interest for the office of President, giving as a

reply to his uncle Augustin's expostulations, that when a system of favouritism prevailed, nothing was bought dearer than with entreaty. Du Chœsne, however, an old friend, by application to the Duke de Joyeuse, brought the matter to a conclusion in one morning ; and Thuanus then blushed for his own remissness.

The parliament, with many congratulations, welcomed his accession to that office which his grandfather, father, and uncle, had enjoyed. Thuanus was then in his thirty-fourth year, and an act was passed, restraining him, in case of his uncle's death, from giving judgment as president, until he attained the legal age of forty.

“ The next step was to remove all impediments to his matrying ; and for this purpose a petition was presented to the ecclesiastical court. His uncle, the Bishop of Chartres, and his mother, deposed that he had entered into the lower

orders of the church only in compliance with his father's wishes, and not from inclination. He was then absolved from his engagements, and pronounced at liberty to marry.

This year was checquered with joy and sorrow; but the latter unfortunately predominated. Thuanus happily married Mary de Barbanson, of a distinguished family in Hainault. "The ceremony took place with the full approbation of the relations on both sides; and his mother voluntarily bestowed upon him that part of her property which he would have been entitled to at her death, together with his father's house. As the parents of his wife had formerly professed the Protestant faith, she confessed, and received absolution from the Vicar-general of Paris. These circumstances are alledged with a view to silence that malice, which, not content with calumniating his writings, has presumed to asperse his private life."

This joyful event was damped by two afflictions, the one private, the other public: the loss of his mother, and the defeat and death of the Duke of Joyeuse, at the battle of Coutras in Xaintonge.

“Thuanus mourned for a parent who had given him proofs of the most partial affection; and, who having seen her favourite child settled to her wish, had now no remaining desire but to join her departed husband.* In the other case he lamented over his benefactor, cut off in the flower of youth, in the career of glory: he lamented over the hope and strength of the French nobility destroyed with him by the madness of faction. These were the first-fruits (such is the eloquent language of Thuanus) of that lamentable war, excited by turbulent

* His friend Pithou said that she left the world with the same composure as, when tired of the city, she would have gone for a few days to her country seat.

minds under the influence of foreigners.* Then followed the ravages of unbridled hatred and ambition; the execution of the laws was obstructed; and few traces of that religion, which was made a pretence of war, were visible in cities—in the country *none*; but its ministers, unmindful of their office of charity, went about fanning the flame, and scattering in declamatory pulpit harangues, contention, malevolence, and the fury of revenge, through families, houses, and towns.

“The obligation of gratitude which bound Thuanus to the Duke de Joyeuse, he transferred to his sole surviving brother, the Cardinal; and little thought at that time of the closer connection, which his marriage with the Cardinal’s cousin (after the death of his first wife) occasioned.

The faction of the league had now matured their force, and their measures be-

* The Court of Spain.

came more bold from the dilatory temper, timidity, and irresolution of the king. "In the midst of these evils, Thuanus felt some comfort in the completion of his presages, for he had long foreseen them. On the fatal day of the barricades he went to the Louvre, and remarked the feebleness and imprudence of the royal councils. From thence his curiosity led him to the Duke of Guise's, whom he found walking in front of his house, with the Archbishop of Lyons, issuing various orders with a serenity and firmness of countenance that augured well to his cause; while the populace stood round in mute admiration. Upon his attempting to return, he found the streets blockaded with barrels, and did not escape home without considerable difficulty and danger.

"The night passed in fear and tumult; and the next day the king adopted the ignominious resolution of leaving the city. After his departure, or rather flight,

Guise became absolute, and the Queen-mother, who had remained for that purpose, in vain endeavoured to promote an accommodation. The king therefore thought it expedient to send commissioners into the provinces to strengthen his cause, and to proclaim a meeting of the states. Thuanus, who with his friend General Schömberg, had followed the King in the course of three days to Chartres, was sent into Normandy. Some places he found inclined to the League; others, though loyally disposed, were not eager in declaring themselves, supposing that Henry was deficient in spirit, and that he would purchase tranquillity even with a diminution of the dignity of the crown."

"Upon his return, the King had removed to Rouen, and there amused himself in frivolous shews. Thuanus received a second commission into Picardy. While waiting in one of the towns for the governor, he set aside several valuable

books in the public library, which had already been exposed to plunder. But the ensuing disturbances rendered his caution fruitless, for they were all destroyed. These (he exclaims) are the wages of civil war: this is the temporal reward of a religion, propagated by fire and sword."

When our author had concluded this commission, he had the distinguished honor of being made a privy counsellor at Chartres by the King; who at this time adjusted his differences with the Duke of Guise, on the condition that both parties should unite against the King of Navarre.

"Thuanus, observing the feebleness of the royal authority, foresaw more troubles, and removed his plate, jewels, and valuable furniture, from Paris. The precaution proved ineffectual; and his loss in the civil wars may be estimated at 10,000 crowns: yet upon the restoration of tranquillity, he uttered no complaints,

nor instituted any suits, as many did, to recover what had been lost."

"To fulfil the duties of his new office he repaired to the meeting of the states at Blois; and in his way he visited his brother-in-law, the Chancellor Chiverni, who had formed a judgment of the King's disposition different from the common one, but more correct. He said, when Henry should find that his system of dissimulation and forbearance only invited fresh outrage, his anger would at length arise, and gathering courage from despair, he would have the Duke of Guise poignarded."

At Blois, the celebrated Montaigne, who had much intercourse with all parties, told Thuanus, that "he firmly believed that nothing but the death of one of the leaders would put an end to these commotions; for the Duke of Guise feared for his life, while the King of Navarre's affairs prospered; who, on the other hand, thought his succession to the crown in-

secure, as long as the Duke of Guise should survive. Religion he said was the pretext of their partizans; but neither of the principals were in earnest on that subject."

The Duke meanwhile was busy in softening his opponents, and made advances with great affability to Thuanus, who on his part shewed much reserve on the occasion. "Guise complained of his behaviour to Schomberg; to whom Thuanus excused himself, alleging that he was well aware of the honor and advantage to be derived from the Duke's countenance; but that observing few good citizens among his party, and that he himself had daily altercations with the King, he should under these circumstances prefer growing old in obscurity to a life of splendor. Guise, when this was told him, replied, that if the good citizens withdrew from his advances, he should be obliged to employ in his cause the best adherents he could find.

“ De Beaulne, Archbishop of Bourges, spoke for the clergy at this assembly of the states at Blois. Among other topics, he introduced the modern prevalence of luxury, and as a conspicuous example of the opposite virtue, instanced Thuanus's mother; who instead of using a chair, or a carriage, modestly contented herself with riding on horseback behind a servant.*

“ There were at that time, (says our Author) only two chariots at court, the Queen's carriage, and that of Diana, natural daughter of Henry II. This fashion was just introduced from Italy, at the latter end of Francis the First's reign. The first, in the city, belonged to Christopher Thuanus, after he was chosen President of the Parliament: but neither he nor his wife

* “ Cùm lecticâ, ut aulicæ principales matronæ et virgines semper antea consueverant, et carrucâ, cujus tunc usus rarus, vehi posset, tamen ut modestiæ cæteris instar esset, in equo post tergum sessoris domestici tapeti et stapedæ insidens per vicos portabatur.”

used it except for excursions into the country. *Now (fifty years after Francis the First's time) these conveyances are as common as the gondolas at Venice."

Thuanus, during the meeting of the states, had used his best endeavours to promote peace and conciliatory measures between all parties; but at length, grieved and disgusted with the visible decline of the royal authority, he departed for Paris.

From attachment to the King he had concerted measures with the Governor of Orleans for preventing that place from falling into the hands of Guise; but while he was busied in raising money for the purpose, the news of the Duke's † death reached Paris, and the scheme dropped of course. This event caused great commotion in the city, and Thuanus, being a

* It is not very easy to ascertain the precise date here meant by the word *now*. Perhaps this last sentence was added by the executors.

† He was assassinated at Blois, Dec. 23, 1588, by the King's order.

known enemy of the League, was exposed to so much danger that he was obliged to shift his lodgings frequently in the dark, and after some time took refuge in the Convent of St. Francis; while his wife was committed to the Bastile. But though detained himself, he had interest enough to procure the liberty of the German Critic Obsopœus; and sent by him into Germany a copy of the History of Zosimus, transcribed from the authentic MS. of Leuenclavius, who translated the work. In consequence of Thuanus's care in this respect, an edition of this Author was published two years after at Francfort.

“The troubles now increased at Paris, and all worthy citizens took to flight. Thuanus disguised himself as a common soldier; his wife muffled herself in the dress of a citizen's wife upon a hack horse, and thus they both contrived to effect their escape.

When these exiles reached Chevreuse

in safety, the disguise of their vulgar habiliments afforded them much mirth. He laughed at his wife's strange head-dress,* and she at his thread-bare coat.

They proceeded into the Chartrain to Chiverni's seat, from whom Thuanus collected many authentic particulars as materials for his history.

The Duke of Mayenne (brother to the deceased Duke of Guise) having taken Orleans, was now marching triumphantly to Paris, and the Royalists were every where defeated. Thuanus was again in great peril; and would certainly have been detained by the enemy, had it not been for a stratagem of his friend Schomberg, who prevailed upon the dowager Duchess of Lorraine to write him a letter including him in her suite, with which she was proceeding to her betrothed husband the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This letter he showed as his passport; and

* Coliendrum.

proceeded to Blois, at which place he found the unhappy king confined in sickness and solitude. Thuanus joined his entreaties to those of the few gentlemen remaining about the royal person, and they at length obtained permission to make proposals to the King of Navarre. Du Plessis Mornay was sent for; and the business secretly concluded between him, Schomberg, and Thuanus.

Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Dombes, came to court about this time, and Thuanus presented to him a translation of the book of Ecclesiastes into Latin verse. "The Prince wrote a short complimentary epistle in return, which was printed with the work; and gradually contracted so intimate and firm a friendship with the author, that as long as he lived he scarcely took any step in politics or important matters without his advice and concurrence."

"The King removed to Tours, and a deliberation was held on constituting a

lawful parliament, in opposition to the parliament at Paris, which had revolted against the sovereign; but a difficulty arose from the circumstance of there being no president. It was necessary to elect one, and the unanimous suffrage fell, in his absence, on Thuanus. "He, however, with many acknowledgments of the honor proposed, resolutely declined it, upon this plea, that either from modesty or a certain rusticity of mind, he had ever shuddered at elevation. He coveted not so much the dignity in question itself, as the reputation of being worthy of it; and this, if he was fortunate enough to possess, he would not forfeit by a premature acceptance, but preferred waiting for the time of regular succession."

"Having such an opportunity of remaining at home with more than common honor, Thuanus chose to accompany his friend Schomberg into Germany, and to partake of his toils and difficulties in raising men and money. They judged that

the safest, and eventually the most expeditious road, would be, through the towns occupied by the King of Navarre's garrisons. This opinion was partly formed on a precedent which occurred in the life of the unhappy King of Portugal, Antonio, who, flying from Philip II. of Spain, and taking refuge in La Rochelle, said that he had never experienced greater faith than among the unfaithful, meaning the Protestants."

The friends proceeded through Xaintonge by the field of battle at Coutras and came to Montagne in Perigord.

A singular incident occurred to Thuanus in this journey at an inn where they slept. In the middle of the night he was awakened by a noise in his bed-chamber, and looking up perceived a female figure in a strange dress, standing by the fire and drying her hair which was wet. Presently she approached his bed, and in a solemn voice said, "I am the Queen of Heaven." He had presence of

mind to conjecture the true cause of this extraordinary visit; and suspecting the woman to be deranged in her mind, called for assistance, and had her properly taken care of.

When they reached Mande, the bishop of the place entertained them in the most sumptuous manner for some days. They perceived that the game at table generally wanted a wing or a leg, and sometimes the head; on enquiry they were surprized to hear that it was supplied from the nests of eagles in the neighbouring cliffs. The peasants build small hovels or huts near, to screen themselves from the fury of the parent bird, which brings food for its young, and after the spoil is deposited, flies away. The peasants then hasten to remove what they find, chickens, hares, partridges, or pheasants, and throw in garbage to the eaglets; but some portion of the prey is generally devoured. Three or four nests supply an elegant table through the year, and chains are fastened round

the young, to prevent their flying as soon as they otherwise would. Thuanus had the curiosity to ascend to one of these nests, and was a witness of the scene described.

• Crossing the frightful mountains of the Cevennes, they passed through several small places to Frejus; and from thence took ship to Genoa, which place they found so favorably disposed to the royal cause, that a vessel, from Marseilles, having lately entered the harbour without hoisting the French flag, was sunk by the populace.

Schomberg went to Florence in disguise to procure money. Thuanus having contracted a disorder in his stomach on the voyage, reached Placentia; but unable longer to bear the jolting of a horse, took a vessel which conveyed him down the Po to Venice.

“ On the day he arrived there, August 14th, an express brought the news of the

detestable *parricide of the King; but the general grief was converted into joy three days after by the account that the King of Navarre had been raised to the throne. "His virtues (as it was declared in the senate of Venice) rendered him worthy of it, even if he had not been the legitimate heir."

"Thuanus made diligent enquiry concerning the lives of learned and celebrated men, both Italians and Spaniards, that he might approve himself, as an historian, an impartial admirer of merit. Unfortunately he has never experienced more ingratitude than from the latter nation."

"Schomberg went to Germany, and his companion journeyed through the beautiful tract of the Valteline and the Grisons to Coire, an episcopal see. The cathedral is now in ruins; for the prelates, who hold it with the title of princes, are contented with merely maintain-

* Henry III. was assassinated by James Clement, on the eleventh of August, 1589.

ing the name, and enjoying the revenues without residence." In crossing the lake to Zurich in an open boat a storm arose, and he was in imminent danger of being drowned with the rest of the passengers.

"Thuanus viewed with much pleasure the town which had been from the earliest times the chief of the Swiss cantons; and did not depart without visiting the humble habitations in which Gesner and Wolfe were born. While in this country he accidentally met his friend de Sillery, envoy from the King, and they united in strengthening the royal interest in Switzerland, where the inhabitants were already well-affected to the cause; and in the different towns on the road to France."

Thuanus at length reached Chalons, and Chateau-Thierry, while Paris was sustaining the King's siege. At the latter place he met with one Picherel, a learned man, who informed him he had that day completed his 79th year, and had studied

fourteen hours in order to finish a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles. This is an instance of extraordinary ardor in the cause of literature, which seems in some measure characteristic of the age. It is related that Cardinal Tournon, on his journeys and embassies, always had mules to carry boxes of books, and his first care, on arriving at any place, was to have these opened, and placed in order for the students of his suite.

Leaving Chateau Thierry below him, he proceeded to Chateau-neuf in the Thimerrais by night, (for by day the journey was dangerous) and the company twice upon alarm given, prepared their weapons. It proceeded however from two litters conveying to interment the bodies of two young noblemen, the Duke de Monbazon and the Count de Roncy, who were killed at the battle of Arques.

Thuanus lamented their fate in two copies of extemporary verses. One of them is here subjoined.

TO ARETE, OR VIRTUE.

Flere tuum non est, Arete ; sed solvere crines
Te modo, et attritas usque rigare genas,
Vidimus, et curvis contundere pectora palmis,
In Monbazonii funere, Diva, tui.
Scilicet ille Deus,—Diis certè proximus heros ;
Et decet heroum morte dolere Deos.

Virtue, thou shouldst not marks of sorrow bear ;
Yet we behold you tear your flowing hair,
You beat your bosom, tears your cheek distain ;
You grieve for Monbazon in battle slain.
A hero he, and godlike was his fame ;
And such a goddess' tears may justly claim.

At Chateaudun he presented himself to the King, who received him most graciously, and made enquiries concerning the state of affairs in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. Thuanus gave some intimation of the match with Mary of Medicis, which took place ten years afterwards. The Venetian and Italian states wished the King to embrace the religion of his ancestors, but being with reason afraid of Spain, were desirous to be on good terms with France, and privately remitted a sum of money,

not very considerable. "His Majesty conversed at great length on the subject, and said that Divine Providence having raised him beyond his hope or desire, to an eminence which few obtain without committing violence and outrage; he hoped the examples of his immediate predecessors would be ever as a warning before his eyes. He was disposed to think of marriage that he might not die childless, as most of them had done: in religion, he professed himself an enemy to all animosity, and a friend to Christian charity; but with respect to the different tenets of ecclesiastical establishments, he would not be found obstinate in shutting his ears to better instruction than he had hitherto received. At the same time he was not to be compelled on this point: and he wished in a matter of so great importance that not himself alone, but many others might be benefited. For this reason he inclined to hope a general, or even national council, or at least a conference

might be instituted. In the mean time, the force, which he deprecated in his own person, he would offer to none; but would religiously uphold the Catholic faith, defend those who differed from its persuasion, and provide as much as in him lay, in all cases, for the safety and tranquillity of the realm. This, and much more, the prince said with an impressive eloquence, natural to him, and with tears: which marks of feeling proved that he spoke the real sentiments of his heart."

Thuanus was sent this year on a mission from the King to the Cardinal of Vendome. On the 14th of March the battle of Ivry took place; and the King was afterwards engaged in taking several towns. "A common saying of that day was, that Henry had raised the siege of Dieux to gain the battle of Ivry, and had retreated from Sens to take Paris. This however was not the case, for he protracted the siege that the capital of the

kingdom might not be given up to plunder; so that humanity occasioned his want of success." Meanwhile Thuanus obtained leave to visit his wife, whom he had not seen for a year. He was also deputed to fetch the Chancellor Chiverni, and almost lost his life from travelling in the heat. He lay sick of a fever for twenty-one days in the castle of Nantouillet, the government of which had been entrusted to him.

When the siege of Paris was raised, Thuanus, taking with him his wife and all the valuables he could collect, set out from Nantouillet, on his way to the Touraine, where he intended to reside. They were met by the enemy, and being without the means of resistance, he escaped only by the swiftness of his horse, but his goods were plundered, and his wife taken prisoner; and her release was not obtained without difficulty.

The Viscount de Tirenne proceeding to Germany to levy troops, it was proposed

that Thuanus should accompany him, unless his continuance at home should be necessary for the purpose of rendering assistance to the Chancellor Chiverni in the dispatch of business. But upon the report of the appearance of a third faction, the King finally resolved to send him to Tours for the purpose of strengthening his interest with the Cardinal de Vendome.

“ The report was not without foundation, and some tumults arising at Tours, the King, when, after the taking of Chartres, his affairs wore a better aspect, summoned the Cardinal and his adherents to court at Mantes, where he himself then was; and this sagacious prince took care to receive them with such flattering hopes of emolument, that he gained many over, and made them spies upon the conduct of the rest.”

“ Thuanus received a commission to raise money from all ranks of people, either by way of loan or gratuity; and

took a letter from the King to the Count de Soissons who had been confined at Tours by a quartan ague, occasioned by chagrin at not being present at the battle of Ivry.

“ Before he left Mantes the death of Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre, Grand Almoner and Royal Librarian, was known ; who was the translator of Plutarch, and had been tutor to Charles IX. and Henry III. The place of librarian was conferred upon Thuanus.

“ When he returned in February to the camp at Darnetal, the King had just received a slight wound from the vanguard of the Duke of Parma’s army. It occasioned great consternation, as the public safety was considered to depend on his life.”

“ Henry asking one of his officers, who had been taken prisoner by the Duke of Parma, what that nobleman said of the late skirmish, he at first declined answering, but being pressed, said, ‘ the Duke

had expressed his surprize that so great a prince should expose his person unnecessarily, and without an adequate object.' This judgment being more consonant to truth than to the King's expectation, he exclaimed with warmth, 'that it was no wonder a general should form this opinion, who fought at the command of another, neither with his own troops nor money: for his part, he sustained the whole care of the war himself, and through impatience of vexation and suspense, was often induced to seek a termination of his troubles with the hazard of his life.'

"The blame of this bloody engagement was attributed by Marshal Brion to Grillon,* who coming after dinner into the King's cabinet to excuse himself, pro-

* This is the same person to whom Henry wrote after the battle of Arques—"Hang thyself, brave Grillon; we have fought at Arques, and thou wert not there."

ceeded to altercation, mixed with oaths and insolent expressions. The king often bade him begone, and turned pale with anger, so that the bye-standers thought he would have seized a sword and stabbed him. He afterwards said that having found himself in his youth prone to passion, he kept a guard over himself that he might commit no rash action under its influence. All the time of the contention Brion lay, to appearance, asleep upon a chest, and the louder it became, the more profound were his slumbers, though Grillon called him in his ear a snarling mangy cur. He did well to leave to the King the whole dispute with this brave but quarrelsome madman."

Thuanus, who had brought 30,000 crowns with him, was again sent on a similar commission to Tours. On his road he was attacked by a violent fever, occasioned by a stay of four months in the pestilential air of the camp. Malignant pimples broke out over his loins, but he was at

length cured by application of the bezoar stone. In order to shew his gratitude to God, he published a work in imitation of the Prometheus of Æschylus, and dedicated it to his dearest friends Thumeri and Du Puy."

A conference was this year instituted between the King and the Duke of Mayenne; and "the people, having a little breathing-time, became as fond of peace, as they had before been of war."

"At this time, Thuanus began his historical work, on account of which chiefly these memoirs were written. He had formed the plan of it fifteen years before. So far from deriving his authorities, as his calumniators assert, from rumours and scattered pamphlets only, he drew them from the very fountain-head of truth, from materials collected on his journies in the course of an intimacy with many persons of eminence; from the papers of persons employed in public affairs,

and those of the four Secretaries of State. It is true that he read the publications produced on both sides during the heat of faction; but he diligently reduced them to the scale of truth. Those who know him, well know, that however numerous his failings, he was always superior to falsehood; and that like Epaminondas, he never allowed himself to utter an untruth even in jest. They well know that from the 20th year of his age, he has lived in intimacy with men of the first repute; that he has been entrusted with various important concerns, and is to this day, with the same established character for probity and virtue. Let him be compared with other writers, and it will be found that he has continually mitigated the animosity of contending interests by temperate language, and as a judge in law questions, ever leaned to the least invidious side: besides the daily prayers, which every Christian ought to

offer at his rising, he has told me* that he made one applicable to his work, and never sate down to composition without first begging God to enlighten him with a knowledge of the truth, and enable him to follow its dictates without flattery or detraction. This indeed he trusts he has accomplished, except where his judgment may be deficient, and he confidently commits his work to the unbiassed sentence of posterity. To this impartial judge Thuanus permitted a friend to inscribe some verses in his name."

These verses are inserted at length in the Appendix. The English reader may form some notion of the sentiments they contain from the subjoined concise translation.

The criticism of Horace upon Lucilius is too applicable to the poetry of Thuanus :

* Thuanus, it must be remembered, speaks of himself continually in the character of a friend.

Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles ;
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem.*

With careless indolence he pour'd his song ;
You'd think it muddy, garrulous, too long.

“ TO POSTERITY.

(Written March 15, 1611.)

“ I'M blamed at Paris and at Rome, because
A toe to vice, the champion of free laws.
From this harsh censure whither shall I flee ?
Posterity, impartial judge, to thee.

Be thou my patron : hear my plain defence.
My honest boldness gives it seems offence.
What if servility had marked my pen,
Should I not meet with equal censure then ?
Is not Truth virtue, which its blame bestows
On guilty friends, praise on deserving foes ?
Blame on, ye sycophants, who courts infest,
Ye swarm of drones ! my conscience is at rest.
The man, who will his trust, without a stain,
In risk of life and fortune's goods maintain ;
Who, when his duty calls, despises gain
And prostituted rank ; who strives to be
And not to seem—that man and only he
Of a good citizen deserves the fame ;
All others are pretenders to the name.

* 1 Satyr. lib. 1. 10. v. 50.

“ 'Tis said I'm tame, from favor free and hate,
Towards the sectaries in Church and State.—
My pen gives Catholics no fulsome praise,
Yet their just meed to several pontiffs pays !
Perfection is not, but in Heaven above,
Some of them err, and there I disapprove.
Should I conceal ? Ah ! 'tis not to be done ;
The actions of the great are always known.
'Tis well at least they think so ; for remove
The dread that after-ages will reprove,
The public censure ; and you leave behind
No check that can restrain a prince's mind.
Thou, who wouldst rule a willing people right,
Live in thy house, expos'd to public sight :
Be a Publicola ! and fear discard ;
Conscience, in stormy times, shall be thy guard.

“ Some liberty besides, the times permit,
Frequent in pasquinades and scurril wit.
These sarcasms touch not doctrine sound at all,
Nor that true faith, which Peter sealed and Paul,
Sealed with their blood—which from our fathers past,
In every place the same, and still to last.

“ In uttering simple truths, blunt tho' I be,
And zealous too, 'tis not Apostacy.
With sects I leagued not, this Perron can tell,
And D'Ossat, did he live, who knew me well.
The Protestants you praise, who merit hate.
Granted : the learn'd and wise, the truly great,
Genius and worth, whatever country bore,
These have I prais'd, as good men did before.

Lo, great Erasmus ! Should I rail in vain,
 At one, who stands the first in Learning's train ?
 Forbid it, Heaven ! His faults are not denied :
 He erred as man, as man let him be tried.

“ Second divinities the laws I name :
 All social rights from Heaven their sources claim.
 And those, who erring would the thought explode,
 Know not that lawful pow'r springs from God.

“ Th' account of *Pisa's synod some accuse ;
 I tell a well-known fact without abuse.
 But you obliquely lash the Holy See ;
 You who assert the charge, accuse not me,
 My life and habits, but bare words proclaim ;
 And here th' event has justified the blame.

“ Then the Pragmatic Sanction—†more dispute :
 Yet France prais'd this, when heresy was mute.
 Shall we beneath a yoke now first incline,
 And ancient liberty of speech resign ?

“ I blame the Paris massacre, and hence
 The last and flagrant capital offence.
 In barb'rous triumph round Rome's trophied hall,
 How at this day remains the pictured wall : ‡

* Assembled in 1410, when two contending pontiffs were deposed, and one other chosen.

† Instituted in 1461. It maintained the authority of General Councils to be superior to that of the Popes.

‡ The massacre of St. Bartholomew was represented in paintings in Constantine's Hall.

But no good Frenchmen in this point agree,
 Their cruel mockery we with horror see.
 They celebrate the woes of France, her shame,
 A foul and bloody deed, unfit to name,
 Condemn'd by edicts, an eternal blot:
 Do I then praise this act? I praise it not.
 No; I condemn and execrate the plan,
 Which set at nought the laws of God and man.
 Rome, should thy gates again admit the foe,
 Then wilt thou learn to pity human woe.

“ Ah! should religious wars again return,
 How will the desolated country mourn:
 Deluged in blood, in jarring conflicts tost,
 Behold her happiness, her honor lost.
 Deform'd is then each peaceful rural scene,
 The village-priest is no where to be seen:
 In walled towns only he appears, and still
 The people hunt him as the cause of ill.
 Alas! what part has Christ in this fierce strife?
 Where is obedience, innocence of life,
 And bond of lovely Charity?—Search through
 A civil war,* no good appears to view.

* The original conveys a very quaint metaphor:

Belli civilis in asse
 Si totam excuties, non est semuncia recti,
 Non fidei aut priscæ pietatis scrupulus unus.

In a pound of civil war, there is not half an ounce
 of integrity, and not one scruple of piety.

Your carnal arms, O seed of Troy, decline,
Take the Lord's sword, and panoply divine.
Schism is in some a weakness, and no sin,
And these persuasive language best will win.

“ When thus escaped from Envy's toil, and clear,
My father's name is whisper'd in my ear.
The grave you open, break its calm repose.—
Do I in aught my father's will oppose?
Disturb his lov'd remains? And is this said
Of me, before whose eyes that form, tho' dead,
Lives in imagination night and day;
Excites to noble deeds, and points the way?
My guardian angel he each thought inspires,
And bids me emulate my virtuous sires.
And witness, shades revered, first of my line,
Your spotless name I spotless shall resign;
I've shunn'd no dangers in my country's cause,
My purpose has at least deserv'd applause:
My soul shall join you, pure from modern-stain,
My honor in the silent grave remain.
Fall'n on ill days, to envy now I yield,
Resign my functions, quit the dubious field.
Old as I am, I do this with good will,
And my own former prophecy fulfil.”

This is the prophecy to which he alludes, which occurs at the conclusion of “The Art of Falconry,” written about the year 1575.

“ Over my humble grave it will be said :
Thuanus, 'mid the smiles of Fortune bred,
Of an illustrious race, who did before
Preferment's honorable path explore;
By this example, by ambition fir'd,
And by his father's recent fame inspir'd ;
Yet shunn'd the Court, a shore where tempests beat,
And sought the Muse's haunts in calm retreat.
Early he sought the meed of letter'd ease ;
Vain pomp, which pleas'd the many, fail'd to please
His mind, nor could the hope of wealth allure—
Wealth, gain'd by spoils, that made a nation poor.”

The following passage, which is sub-joined to the verses in the *Memoirs*, was perhaps written by Du Puy, who was indignant at the censure thrown on his friend's work.

“ Since, therefore, Thuanus made no sacrifice to hatred, or affection, or ambition; since the sole aim of his work was to advance the glory of God and the public good (which requires the publication of the truth to be transmitted to posterity;) since he asserted nothing but on sure testimony and great authorities;—it

G

is matter of astonishment to me that a man who injured none, but often repaid good for evil, should have experienced so much the malice of detractors, who have even descended to asperse his private life and domestic habits.

“ He said himself he was aware of no reasons for their outrageous hatred, but such as were latent, and which his calumniators would not avow. I began therefore to consider what these might be, and upon mature reflection believe the cause of offence to be, the detestation he always expressed of war entered upon on account of religion, and the advice he gives for restoring primitive discipline in the Church, and for convoking general councils at stated times. His enemies are particularly stung by what is said concerning the national laws, “ the prerogative, liberties, privileges, and lastly the *palladium of the realm.” For in a word,

* See Thuanus's Preface, p.

they are a company of Sinons, who watch opportunities of enriching themselves by the ruin of others; of invading the liberties of oppressed kingdoms; of making a vast parade of exorbitant power by trampling on the crown, even at the hazard of destruction to the Church.

“ They are vexed, and wrung to the heart at the exposure of their wiles. Hence, and from no other source, arise those animosities, calumnies, and that torrent of scandal. Hence an unlimited censure was passed at Rome, without any cause assigned, on the entire history of Thuanus, when only a part had been published: published indeed with that preface which galls them to the quick.

“ The lapse of *ten years has not quenched the fury of these zealots. They would willingly procure the breach of the peace we enjoy; for effectuating which the author took so much pains, by

* The History was first published in 1604.

command of the great Henry, thirteen years before. They have no contrition, no resignation, no dependance on Providence; but think the cause of religion requires for its support conspiracies, wars, and bloodshed. Against those, who speak with moderation of the Protestants, who implore the aid of councils, they inveigh as separatists, lukewarm, suspicious characters. Proud and vain-glorious, they delight in outward pomp, and arbitrary sway: covetous, without mercy or brotherly love, full of the wisdom of the world, during peace they make ready for war, and wherever they meet opposition, persecute and demolish implacably with fire and sword.

“Such are the men with whom the writer of the Annals is at variance. To maintain (as he has done) the national liberties and honor against foreign artifice, to vindicate the King’s power by a sketch of the Gallic laws, and to ward the sword from his sacred person, is at

the present day considered a crime and treason against God. Time was, that he who acted thus, would have been deemed worthy of an oaken crown, and a triumph, but now our enemies have so far prevailed in trampling on the dignity of the nation and of the sovereign, that the same person is considered as prophane, and ex-communicate---

Triste jacet cunctis evitandumque bidental.

As if blasted by lightning, to be shunn'd by all mankind.

But I check my pen, and beg pardon of the reader, if in so just a cause, and in the defence of an innocent person, I have launched out too far and with some degree of heat, which he would neither have done nor consented to."

Thuanus resided at Tours the remainder of the year, with his wife, and was employed in the composition of his history, having previously furnished himself with books and materials from his library in Paris.

The following year, the King being reconciled to the Church, though not yet favoured by the Pope, was consecrated at Chartres by Nicholas, bishop of the place, and uncle to Thuanus. Paris was likewise delivered to the Royalists by the Governor Brissac. "It was hoped that the Parliament would not be restored until the return of those faithful adherents to the King, namely Harlay, Thuanus and others, who had exercised jurisdiction for five years at Tours. But the intrigues of Francis d'O, who thought to obtain popularity by depressing the Parliament, prevailed so far as to frustrate this expectation."

"This year the Jesuits were banished, a measure which Thuanus approved as conducive to the public good, but grieved at the same time to lose the society of their provincial, Du Puy, his intimate friend."

Charles, Duke of Guise, son of Henry, who was assassinated at Blois, made his

peace with the King; and the Duke of Sully and Thuanus arranged the conditions.

He then returned to his studies, which were only interrupted by his attendance on the Venetian ambassadors; who came to Paris with great pomp. He wrote also a copy of verses, containing 120 lines, expressive of the unwillingness with which he had first joined the Court, and the joy it would afford him to leave it.

They conclude thus---

Jamque adeo ad Musas atque otia blanda relabor;
Sera licet, certa est, quæ venit indè salus.

Back to the Muse I steal, and calm repose,
Whence happiness, tho' late, securely flows.

This year Augustin, President a Mortier, died; and Thuanus succeeded to the reversion of his place. "He shewed his moderation before, when he would not accept the office at Tours; and he would not now enter the Parliament, till he had paid due respect to his uncle's remains."

Upon some alarm which had arisen among the Protestants, lest their interests should not be sufficiently consulted, the King appointed a commissioner to treat with them; and his nomination fell on Thuanus. "He being busily occupied in private with his history, and the arrangement of his domestic affairs, received the information very unexpectedly; and apprehensive, from experience, of incurring odium and calumny both in France and at Rome in the conduct of so delicate an affair, resolutely after repeated solicitations, declined engaging in it. He however went with Schomberg into the Touraine, for the purpose of treating with Louise, widow of Henry III. and the Duke de Mercœur her brother."

There he received the distressing account of the death of his friend Peter Pithou, the companion and director of his studies. His spirits were much depressed by this event; and he had even thoughts of abandoning his historical

work. To Pithou the world is indebted for the first publication of Phœdrus' fables, and for many other literary works. He was in all respects one of the most eminent men of his age; and Thuanus has delineated his character with all the warmth of affection in his history, and in a letter written about the time of his death to Casaubon. As these accounts throw some light upon the character of the author, as well as of his friend, they are here in part subjoined.

* "Pithou was born at Troyes, and descended from an illustrious family, and deserves to be ranked among the greatest men of our time, on account of his integrity, unaffected piety, genius, deep and extensive knowledge, and acute discernment. He was continually occupied for the public good, particularly in searching out and elucidating the remains of ancient literature, and in encouraging and assist-

* Hist. lib. 117.

ing others who had the same object in view. Le Fevre said with justice, that no person knew any one author better than Pithou knew the works of *all* the Greek and Latin writers ; which he had perused, without a single exception. He had gained a most accurate knowledge of all particulars relative to French history, customs, manners, and descriptions of places ; and had transcribed with his own hand many old records belonging to monasteries, towns, and public archives.

“ In civil law, so great were his attainments, that it was said of him and his illustrious preceptor, Cujacius, “ If the tutor prevented his pupil from being the *first*, the pupil on the other hand prevented him from being the *only* civilian.”

“ These excellent accomplishments would separately stamp a dignity on any character ; united together, they give the highest lustre to that of Pithou. Yet how little a part do they all form of that essence of wisdom, which by a

happy combination of talent and judgment, perfected in a course of study, reading, and habitual experience, he had extracted from the rich stores of antiquity? How far short are they of that prudence in affairs which enabled him not only to judge with equal facility and equity of private business, and of legal concerns, but also to determine wisely concerning the best interests of the state, to look forward to remote events, and to guard against impending and dreadful contingencies?

“Although he was of all men most free from ambition, and the only splendor of his life was that which he derived from his virtues, and although he always rejected honors, even if voluntary offered; yet feeling, as he did, an ardent desire to benefit his country, he never desisted from admonishing and exhorting those who happened to be placed at the head of affairs, and suggesting to them any approved expedients which his knowledge

of antiquity supplied, or which, from a peculiar acuteness and solidity of judgment, he had himself discovered. On their part, they never entered upon any affair of great moment till they had previously consulted Pithou, so that he may be said to have transacted the public business in retirement, and to have been a perpetual magistrate without the insignia of office. The innocence and undeviating tenor of probity which characterized his life, procured him the reputation not merely of a most learned lawyer, and a most prudent civilian, but of an honest patriot, and a truly good man. He died on his birth-day, at the age of fifty-seven.

“ Upon the death of my incomparable friend, the partner of all my cares, my counsellor in literary studies, and in political counsels, the web of history which I had begun to weave fell from my hands; and I should never have resumed my labors, unless I had thought it a tri-

bute due to the memory of a man who had merited so much from me and from my country, to complete with what assistance I could procure, a work commenced at his instigation, which he considered likely to be of public benefit, and which I had it in contemplation to continue under the sanction of his concurrence alone."

The following letter Thuanus addressed to Casaubon on the same subject. It is dated Tours, Nov. 25, 1596.

"When I was lately at Angers (whither I had been sent by the King, with the illustrious Gaspard de Schomberg, for the business of reconciling Bretagne to the peace), I received the melancholy news of Peter Pithou's death. I was confounded, as you may well imagine, by so unexpected a calamity; and having no person near me, who entertained a just sense of my loss, or into whose bosom I could pour my grief, I became inconsolable. Forgetting myself, I almost for-

got my office and dignity. I seek not to excuse to you this weakness and imbecility of mind to which I yielded for the same circumstance might have happened to a person of the greatest resolution. How good and great a man Pithou was, you know, who had no personal acquaintance with him; his merits are known to those whom a still greater distance separated from us: you will therefore less wonder that those who enjoyed his familiar friendship and agreeable intercourse, should receive his death with a degree of impatience.

“ For, let me ask, what pleasure can be more sweet than the conversation of a friend alike pious and wise, and learned beyond imagination?

“ Besides an uncommon and accurate science, and a knowledge of all ancient history, particularly ecclesiastical, of civil law and polite learning, he possessed the strictest probity of morals, without dissimulation or ambition, and the most

consummate skill and prudence in worldly affairs. In public business especially he had such discernment and foresight, that though he lived in retirement, those who directed the helm of state, applied to him for advice as to an oracle, and believed their counsels to be better calculated and established, as often as he advised or approved them. Therefore no matter of great and serious moment was privately debated by the best of our great men either at the court or in the city, or carried from thence to a public consultation, which had not been first communicated to him, and submitted to his examination. These things those who never saw him knew not, though in other respects they may be no strangers to the name of Pithou.

“ For my part, I was happy in his friendship, as long as it was allowed me to enjoy it; and as by his death I lost the only assistant and guide of my counsels and studies, I felt so much

concern, that I should have been disposed to bid farewell to all my studies, and even to the Commonwealth itself (to which it had pleased God to render me in some way serviceable), if I had not been withheld by the noble admonitions of that very man, whose decease fills me with so much grief, remaining fresh in my memory. For it came into my mind, that whenever he saw me in dejection and despair at the aspect of public affairs, he used to raise my spirits by this argument, viz. that although his own presages on the subject were no less dismal than mine, yet good citizens, like brave soldiers, were placed by the chief commander in a certain station, which ought not to be deserted in the worst of times.

“ In a word, he was a man born for for the public good:—having by the greatness of his genius and talents embraced a knowledge of universal science, and by his admirable prudence attained consummate skill in public business, he suffered

no time to pass unemployed in serious occupations; but either with a view of doing service to posterity published the monuments of antiquity, discovered and illustrated by his own diligence, or was engaged in promoting the endeavors and labors of others for the general good, or lastly assisted his friends with prudent advice. Therefore those persons, upon whom God has betowed great talents, ought industriously to emulate so laudable a disposition for promoting the best interests of mankind, and thus recommend to posterity the memory of so great a man.

“ For you, most learned Casaubon, he always entertained a more than common affection, and used to say that you were the only man of the age, who, notwithstanding the banishment of learning during the civil wars, kept alive the hope of its return, and prevented us from thinking its state desperate. I particularly remember that, in a conversation

on literary subjects, I once showed him a letter of my friend Scaliger's, in which he said that even envy allowed you to have obtained the principal place amongst the learned: and Pithou was highly pleased with that great man's testimony in your favor, and used to express his satisfaction, that God had raised you up to oppose the barbarous ignorance (so he termed it) which impended over us. Accordingly it was by his advice that I sent you an invitation to come amongst us; and I fancy he pressed the same thing himself in letters that passed between you. That good man, who had the public good solely in view, hoped some advantage might result to the world from your mutual communication, and that he should give you no reason to repent of a familiar intercourse with him. A great number of things, either from declining age or from the burthen of business, he was himself unable to attend to; which he would willingly have delivered to your

management, who were both younger and had more leisure, and which he thought you would not have been disinclined to undertake.

“ These arrangements, in consequence of his death, are partly lost, partly in such confusion, that Nicholas Le Fevre (an excellent man and his dear friend, with whom he lived in the city during the calamitous times in perfect union, and who for that reason was admitted to a knowledge of his schemes) is the only person who can collect, put together, and complete them in such a manner as to render them of general benefit. I shall not cease to solicit him with repeated exhortations to make the attempt.

“ Meanwhile I hope you will not be displeased at this perhaps too prolix account of my grief; and with your usual goodness oblige me, since I know you will participate in my concern, by testifying it in your writings to posterity. He, if any man of the age, certainly deserved

that his name, sufficiently celebrated in itself, should be transmitted with the honorable panegyrics of his illustrious contemporaries. That you will do this yourself, (for you are able) and exhort others who are competent to do the same, I cannot but earnestly entreat.

“ Farewell ; and remember to acquaint me often with your concerns and studies : for be assured, that, in this sea of human troubles, nothing affords me more comfort than your letters. Once more farewell.”

The life of Thuanus, on account of his public situation, necessarily includes at this period some account of national affairs. The winter was spent in a fruitless negotiation with the Duke de Mercœur ; and the commissioners appointed to confer with the Protestants had no better success. Schomberg, and Thuanus, notwithstanding his former scruples, were at length joined in this commission.

“ The surprisal of Amiens by the Spaniards at this time spread consternation

throughout the kingdom. It was feared that the old troubles would arise again; and the Protestants, alarmed lest their persecutors should obtain superiority, fled to arms, and entered into secret leagues among themselves for ensuring not only their own safety, but that of the kingdom. The King took measures for dispossessing the Spaniards, which were finally successful, and by his valor and conduct restored tranquillity to the realm. The Protestants, placing a dependance on his resolution, began to hope for a permanent establishment under him; and thus a foundation was laid for the edict, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, which passed in the following year, and was named the edict of Nantes, from the place where it was first promulgated.

“ During the siege of Amiens by the King, two Protestant noblemen, the Dukes de Bouillon and De la Tremouille, who had received orders to levy troops,

neglected to advance in support of the royal troops. Henry conceived great displeasure at their remissness in this point of duty, and even shewed himself offended with Thuanus, because he had attempted to palliate their conduct by letter, though at the same time he expostulated sharply with them in private. His defence of the young Prince of Condé and his mother, two years before, had brought him into much trouble, though he acted on this as on all other occasions, with the most upright intentions.

“ While Thuanus, with the other commissioners, Calignon and de Vic, waited at Chinon, to lay before the King conditions proposed by the Protestants, relative to the edict afterwards passed at Nantes; circumstances occurred not perhaps unworthy of finding a place in a familiar narrative like the present. The Commissioners lodged at the best house in the place, which had formerly belonged to Francis Rabelais, a gentleman, who, not-

withstanding his eminent skill in the Greek and Latin languages, and in his profession of physic, laid aside serious studies, and abandoned himself to debauchery and intemperance. Addicting himself to the *art of laughing (which he used to say was peculiar to man) with the freedom of a Democritus, and in a scurrilous stile, he wrote a most ingenious book; wherein, under feigned names, he brought all sorts of men and characters, as it were, upon the stage, and exposed them to ridicule. The circumstance of his house being at that time converted into an inn, where there were perpetual carousals, suggested to Thuanus the following verses, which were written without premeditation." Their light style proves that he possessed considerable versatility of talent.

Ipse RABILÆSIUS γελοιοποιὸς loquitur.

Sic vixi, ut vixisse mihi jocus, atque legenti

Quos vivus scripsi sit jocus usque jocos.

* *Artem Ridendi.*

Per risum atque jocos homini data vita fruenda,
 Inter amarescit seria felle magis.
 Et nunc ne placidos lædant quoque seria manes,
 Cavit Echionii provida cura Dei :
 Nam quæ a patre domus fuerat Chinone relictæ,
 Qua vitreo Lemovix amne * Vigenna fluit,
 Postquam abii, communis in usum versa tabernæ,
 Lætifico strepitu nocte dieque sonat.
 Ridet in hâc hospes pernox, ridetur in horto,
 Cum populus festo cessat in urbe die,
 Tibiaque inflato saltantes incitat utre,
 Tibia Pictonicos docta ciere modos.
 Et quæ musæum domino, quæ cella libellis,
 Nectareo spumat nunc apotheca mero.
 Si mihi, post minimum vitæ tam suaviter actum,
 Dent hodiè ad priscos fata redire jocos,
 Non aliâ patrias ædes mercede locare,
 Vendere non aliâ conditione velim,

RABELAIS, the Jester, speaks.

A life of laughter I thought best,
 And made of life itself a jest.
 A jest my witty writings are,
 Perpetual antidotes to care :
 Man wants a laughing lively scene,
 To dissipate his gath'ring spleen.
 Now I'm dead, the god of wine,
 Preserves to me this love of mine,

* A river in the Limousin.

**Making of my paternal house
An inn, a place where all carouse.
From morn to night, and all night long
The guest there sings his merry song ;
With merriment the rooms resound,
And the gardens farthest bound.
My study, doom'd its form to lose,
Now is turn'd to better use ;
No musty books they there consign,
But store of casks of gen'rous wine.
Could I life's little span renew,
And earthly regions once more view,
Oh, how happy should I be
In this scene of jollity.
On no terms could I so well,
My paternal mansion sell.**

“ One Beaumont, calling himself a gentleman, being found guilty of magic at Angouleme, had appealed to the parliament.” In his way to Paris, a lady of quality detained him, from curiosity, at Chinon ; and there he avowed, in the presence of Calignon, that he entertained commerce with aerial and heavenly spirits, who were by nature beneficent. Sorcerers, on the contrary, he said, were

governed by terrestrial and subterraneous demons, of malignant qualities. Thuanus calls his pretence vain and impious ; but it appears that he was executed afterwards at Paris, upon an alleged conviction of the crime of magic.

“ A priest was accused, while the King was at Nantes, of contriving his Majesty’s death by magical arts, and of concealing in a secret chamber an image of wax, stuck with pins, intended to represent the King, and to influence his health.”

These incidents shew the popular superstition of the times, which an age of greater knowledge and refinement discards with contempt. The trials for witchcraft in England, which occurred not long after the period here spoken of, are notorious.

“ Thuanus continued to employ upon his history what leisure hours he could snatch from business. After the edict was concluded and sealed, he was dispatched to Paris to manage its promul-

gation in the parliament, and to procure that it should be passed with tranquillity, before the faction of the League, still formidable, though depressed, could effect any opposition to it. His presence was considered of so much importance on the occasion, that his appointment of ambassador to Venice, to which he had been nominated, was transferred to another.

He experienced this year deep affliction from the death of his friends, Schomberg and Chiverni.

As the King had shewed kindness to the Protestants by the edict of Nantes, he found himself compelled on the other hand to concede something to the Pope, and for this purpose the reception of the decrees of the Council of Trent was agitated. "This matter is slightly touched in the history, and requires therefore a farther explanation in this place from Thuanus's common-place* book."

* This sentence, taken from "The Memoirs," indicates that they are a compilation.

“ The courtiers and heads of the Protestant party were first gained over to this measure; and the next step was to influence the parliament. The King sent notice to the First President, de Harlay who was considered adverse to it, that he would come and visit him, in order that he might confer on the matter; for the President was ill in bed. The Catholics hoped that the surprize and honor of the royal visit would prevent his opposition. But he declined the meeting on account of the state of his health, and they were thus disappointed.

“ The King had already set out in his chariot, and turned aside to the hotel of Zamet. Thither Thuanus repaired by summons, and the King privately informed him of the business. But he, finding himself the only President present, thought the more caution necessary; and declined giving an opinion, lest it should embarrass his future conduct, when the matter came before Parliament. The

King, however, insisting upon it, he at last said, ' That he foresaw the measure would be attended with great difficulty ; ' for that there was no instance in the history of the French monarchy of a reception of a council into the kingdom. The only precedent at all in point was the Pragmatic sanction, and ninety out of one hundred counsellors would refer to it ; which reference would certainly give much umbrage to the Pope.' Upon this the King, who had a great share of prudence, but had been in this instance ill-advised, broke up the meeting, by saying, " Do not suppose that you are called hither to determine ultimately on the publication of the Council of Trent, but rather to consult some method of satisfying on this head, the Pope, the realm, and all parties, as much as may be."

" Soon after followed the conference between Du Plessis Mornay and the Bishop of Evreux, at Fontainebleau ; and the King's expedition into Savoy.

“Thuanus met with ill-will from the promulgation of a body of statutes for the University of Paris. On account of the new doctrine disseminated by foreigners, of deposing and murdering kings, some articles were inserted in them which secretly galled the factious. These pernicious notions have however gained ground.”

In 1601, our author was elected Temporal Father and Protector of the Order of St. Francis, throughout the kingdom of France.

In the same year he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died on the 5th of August, the fourteenth anniversary of their marriage, in the thirty-fifth year of her age. He erected a marble monument and statue to her in the church of St. Andrew of the Arches, and gave immediate vent to his grief by an effusion of unpremeditated verses to the number of a hundred ; which express much pious resignation, and celebrate the tender disposition,

and domestic virtues of the deceased, who is said to have made a constant practice of praying three times daily, to have dedicated the morning to the perusal of the scriptures and devout meditation, and to have employed the remainder of her time in attention to family affairs. She left no children, but in the opinion of the afflicted poet, "Her virtues leave sufficient pledges to recal to your mind, O Thuanus, the lively image of your beloved consort; and will serve as an instructive lesson to teach you how to die, when the appointed hour arrives."

The Memoirs of Thuanus here terminate abruptly; and what relates to the publication of his history, and the remaining sixteen years of his life (for he died in 1617) is to be gathered from other sources. Buckley has printed, in the seventh volume of his edition, an ample and judicious collection of materials relative to his author. From these the following account is principally derived.

Thuanus's Preface, addressed to King Henry IV. is dated 1601, and alludes to the birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Lewis XIII. which took place in September of that year. The licence for printing was not issued till two years after, Oct. 1603, and the first part of the history, consisting of eighteen books, was first published at Paris in 1604.

The reception the work met with at Rome may be collected from the following extracts of letters, written by Thuanus to his friends, the Cardinal Joyeuse and M. Du Puy, who were then at Rome. They evidently allude to some strictures on the history, which had reached the author's ears.

“The latter part of the fourth book, and the beginning of the fifth, where the narration relates to the Popes Paul III. and Julius III. I wish unsaid and unwritten, out of that reverence to the Holy See, which I have during my life entertained, and will preserve until death.

For I do not think that a laxity of morals can dissolve the obligations to doctrine and discipline incumbent upon all. These are also my sentiments, concerning other similar passages, if such occur, in the history.

“With regard to the expression, “ he departed to a better life,” I do not remember to have used it concerning any notorious heretic, or one who engaged in theological controversies. But I may perhaps have applied the words, without reflection, to some worthy Protestant. Indeed Christian charity obliges us to hope the best in cases respecting persons, who have not erred wilfully, but have imbibed their tenets in consequence of an education among Sectaries. Neither do I write in the character of a Theologian, but as a *man*, who has compassion for his brethren ; and who is obliged to regulate his conduct towards all mankind by the laws and customs of the times, particularly those of his own nation.”

Thuanus defends in general terms, the freedom and impartiality of his pen, as necessary, and the duty of an Historian. But he wishes to hear all objections, adding "that as he has spoken freely of others, it is but right, he should submit to the same freedom in return."

In one letter he mentions that his work is in many parts a defence of the house of Bourbon; and with just policy, recommends it to his friends to caution the court of Rome against irritating, by its censures, the princes of that family, his powerful patrons.

He is willing that any objectionable parts be retrenched, provided nothing be added. He even expresses his regret that he was constrained to let his history be edited during his life-time; constrained, he says, because he had been threatened with the publication of a garbled copy, which had found its way into Germany, by means of a treacherous Amanuensis of that country, whom he employed.

He is anxious that the court of Rome should at least suspend its censures, until the appearance of a second edition, which he was preparing with numerous alterations.

He continually alludes to the state of his mind, devoid of vanity and ambition: "he has bidden adieu he says to hope and to fortune, and is therefore enabled to renounce the court usually paid to great men in power." Against calumny he appeals, to the innocence of his life; declares that in his compositions, he had no other purpose but to promote the glory of God, and that he should not have set his name to his history, except with a view to give it credit and authority. Sometimes his resolutions of patience fail, and he breaks forth in eloquent indignation: "It is easy for those who are removed from péril, to judge boldly of others.--- Meanwhile where is charity? Have men no compassion after forty years passed full of continual miseries? Have they no

fear, after the loss of the Netherlands, occasioned by that frantic obstinacy, which marked the times? In this country we may be good Catholics, and obedient, in all points of doctrine, to the Holy See, without maintaining the bloody proposition, that Religion is to be established by force and by arms. Therefore I shall never repent of having said of it, in the place I hold, what I have always said; still less of what I have written. For one thing I grieve, that this alone has occasioned my book to be examined with so much rigour, amounting even to calumny."

The letter from which this passage is an extract, is dated Feb. 12, 1606. It was addressed to his friend and relation M. Du Puy, and the animated expressions which I have cited, were occasioned by a censure lately passed on his work at Rome, and published with the signature of one Caracioli, a regular among the Clergy.

The following sentences, which were, in this censure, enjoined to be erased, will

shew the design of the whole, and the tenderness with which the court of Rome felt the slightest attack :

“ Erasmus, the great glory of this age, lib. i. p. 105.*

Altho’ the Pontiff was enraged. p. 182.

Boniface 8th, a man of proud and restless temper. p. 362.

In conclusion Caracioli says, “ of this book and its author my judgment is that the book ought to be altogether condemned and destroyed ; and that the author is a Calvinist, and a Heretic of the first class.”

Thuanus, however, was not without encouragement even from Rome. Three or four Cardinals spoke favorably of his work, and his friends succeeded for a time in making his cause good with Pope Clement VIII. The Cardinal du Perron writes, “ that the general approbation bestowed on his book, for it was ranked next to Sallust and Tacitus, must be an agreeable recompense of his labors. As Alexander was solicitous to be praised by

* Buchley’s edition,

the Athenians, so ought you to receive with the greatest satisfaction, applause from Rome, the most polished part of the world."

Seguier, however, one of his Correspondents, says " That whatever is composed in elegant and classical Latin, is suspected at Rome of impiety."

It is observable that Thuanus did not think it prudent to insert in this publication, the History of the Council of Trent.

The fraud of the German Amanuensis had extended farther than to 18 books; and the historian was not deterred from publishing in the year 1606, a second part, carried on to 1572, and including the massacre of St. Bartholomew. In a letter to M. Du Puy, dated April 1606, he mentions this publication, and says he has, within few days, carried his work in manuscript, down to the birth of the Dauphin in 1601. The second part shared the fate of the first eighteen books in incurring the

censure of Caraccioli. "My judgment," he says, "is the same concerning both these publications: In the second as in the first volume, Thuanus brings into debate the council of Trent; he continually censures the Sovereign Pontiffs; and praises Heretics, particularly the Prince of Conde,* the king of Navarre, the Duke of Montmorency, the authors of the French sedition, and favorers of the Sectaries. Let the illustrious Cardinals Perron and Du Henry who know him, judge if this author ought not to be reckoned in the first class of Heretics."

In 1609, Thuanus's History is found in the list of books formally prohibited at Rome.

The inquisition in Spain was particularly severe on the work, and swept away in one clause, seven folio pages of the Preface.†

* Condœum, Navarrum, &c.

† From sect. 5, at the words "will continue to afflict" down to "from our vices," in sect. 19.

Thus violently was the Papal authority exerted against Thuanus in the two countries, in which alone at that time its plenitude of power remained. With what justice these censures were directed against him, it may be interesting to consider, after the entire course of his life shall have been laid before the reader. Meanwhile it is obvious to remark how much, in the present times, the question of toleration in Religion has shifted its ground, since it is no longer matter of debate, at least in our own country, whether or not those who differ from the establishment shall enjoy perfect liberty of opinion and practice; but whether or not sectaries shall be admitted to a participation of all privileges belonging to the National Church.

The arm of papal power was extended against Thuanus only at Rome and in Spain; but attacks from a private quarter on the same account caused him more vexation and trouble, than even the cen-

tures of the church coming with authority. The Court of Rome had indeed lost much of its power; yet we shall see that it found at that time adherents and champions, well qualified in point of talent, and certainly not deficient in fervor. The attacks alluded to, proceeded from two persons of this description, who, though not acting in concert, pleaded the same cause with equal vehemence. One of these was the noted German critic, Scioppius; famous for acuteness and extensive learning, and for the virulent and scurrilous invectives, which he poured out indiscriminately against men of merit, and hence obtained the surname of the Grammatical Cur. The other opponent was one Machaud, a jesuit, who published under a fictitious name.

Scioppius twice aspersed Thuanus in his writings, in the "Scaliger * Hypobo-

* This word, which signifies "supposititious," conveys a sarcastic allusion to Scaliger's birth, who

limæus," published in 1707; and in the "Ecclesiasticus," which appeared in 1611, and was chiefly directed against the theological opinions of King James the First of England. His remarks shew much scholastic acuteness, and abound with sentiments of the following tenor.

He would have heretics "shunned, condemned, anathematized; put to death, even if friends and sons; stoned, and finally never treated with the smallest mark of common humanity." It occurs to him that these notions may be thought uncharitable; and he thinks it necessary to support them by referring to St. Paul's address to the Sorcerer Elymas, and to this expression of St. John, "If any reject this doctrine, do not receive him into your houses, nor bid him God-speed."

He delights in quoting St. Cyprian, who says that a heretic, professing Chris-

boasted, on no very good grounds, that he was descended from the ancient princes of Verona.

tianity, is no more a Christian than Satan is Christ, as often as he assumes his form. From St. Chrysostom he produces a curious specimen of logic against the Arians: "He is an Arian, therefore he is the Devil." *Arianus est, ergo Diabolus est.*

After distorting the meaning of the venerable fathers of the Church, it is not surprising that this furious polemic should proceed to exaggerate any expressions and passages he can find in the New Testament, which seem convertible to his purpose. "We are not," he says, "to debate with heretics, because the Holy Ghost forbids to cast pearls to swine, or to give the children's meat to dogs." In St. Luke he finds, "Whoever comes to me, and hates not his father and his mother, cannot be my disciple;" and in St. Matthew, "I came to divide father and son, &c." "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword." These expressions, however, giving but slender support to his sanguinary doctrines, he ransacks the Old Tes-

tament with somewhat more success; and brings the examples of Moses, Phineas, and Elias, to justify homicide. His arguments are conducted in this manner: "As the House of David could have no peace until Absalom was cut off, neither can the Church, unless heretics are destroyed.—Josaphat was a pious king, but God punished him for not bearing a righteous hatred to the enemies of the Church.—God promises that the wolves shall be destroyed from among the flock; but heretics are wolves, and are therefore to be destroyed."

In reasoning upon passages which support the doctrine of compulsion in religion, he continually asks, "Are we then to believe God or Thuanus?"

"Amongst us Germans, (says Scioppius) if any artizan were to promulge such opinions, he would be excommunicated and interdicted from his trade. How scandalous then, that a president should do this with impunity, in Paris?"

He calls Philip the Second of Spain a saint ; but fears lest Henry of Bourbon, by the protection he afforded to heretics, may have forfeited the hope of eternal happiness.

In both these works, the Scaliger Hypobolimæus, and the Ecclesiasticus, Scioppius shews an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the fathers ; and quotes Pindar, Homer, Seneca, and Aristotle. He repeatedly uses the grossest language, in detecting what he calls the falsehood and hypocrisy of Thuanus. The latter work was prohibited by the Parliament of Paris, on account of its outrageous abuse of the memory of Henry the Fourth.

Our historian will suffer little in his reputation from that censure, which is at the same time directed against his Royal Master. Scioppius, in a third work, entitled, " A Critique on the Style proper for History," attacks his language ; but the errors he has committed are not many,

even by the computation of his adversary, and candor will shelter him from the lash of a censor, keen enough to accuse Cicero of writing barbarous Latin. A specimen of these remarks is given in the Appendix, No. 2. They do not exhibit much taste in classical elegance, but are chiefly grammatical, and confined to verbal criticism.

Thuanus, in his letters, speaks of Sciooppius in terms of contempt, and calls him a shabby pedant, hired by the Court of Rome, to snarl at men of worth. His friend, the Cardinal Perron, endeavoured in vain to silence this troublesome opponent.

Machaud, the jesuit, published his attack at Ingoldstadt in 1614. It perhaps originated in the hatred his society bore to Thuanus, because he had favored the measure of their expulsion from France, and had imputed to them some dangerous doctrines, particularly that of its being lawful, under certain circumstances to murder sovereigns; with the propagation

of which they had at one period been generally stigmatized. The Jesuit's charges are divided into twelve heads, but they have not all a distinct meaning :—1. The futility of the historian. 2. His admiration of heretical writers. 3. His use of heterodox expressions. 4. Unworthy speeches which he has attributed to Popes and Catholic Doctors. 5. His propensity to praise and commiserate suffering sectaries. 6. His hostility to worthy Catholics, particularly to the House of Guise. 7. The war of extinction which he wages against the Jesuits. 8. His contumelious remarks on the conduct of the most Christian kings of France. 9. His continual aspersions of Sovereign Pontiffs. 10. His implacable hatred to the See of Rome. 11. His false divinity. 12. His malicious frauds in favor of the Calvinists.

These strictures are written in the same spirit with those of Scioppius, but not with equal acuteness and ability. The

two critics agree in censuring Thuanus for those very qualities, to which he is indebted for his repute with posterity; and in branding his impartiality and love of truth, with the dreadful name of heresy. These works are so far curious as they assert, in times of comparative refinement, the infallibility and supreme dominion of the papacy, and are specimens of the zeal employed to support that tottering power.

The Jesuit's annotations were immediately prohibited by the Parliament of Paris; and the exclamation of Casaubon is just, "That Thuanus was honored by this accusation." He did not condescend himself to reply to either of these adversaries, but seems to have prepared his memoirs, with the design of refuting their accusations; and in the consciousness, that an explicit avowal of all the actions and plans of an innocent and virtuous life, would form the best answer to unfounded calumny.

If the publication of his history procured the Author considerable obloquy, it in return brought him a harvest of praise, mixed indeed with some censure, from eminent men in all parts of Europe. Those communications, which appear most deserving of the reader's attention, are here inserted.

Thuanus sent his work, as soon as it was published, to King James the First of England, accompanied with the following letter in Latin.

“ To the Most Serene King of England,
Scotland, and Ireland.

“ Your Most Serene Majesty will perhaps be surprised at the boldness of this intrusion upon your time at the present moment, by a stranger. The report of your Majesty's virtues, like the effulgence of the rising sun, your sincere friendship with our King, the bond of agreement now so closely drawn between the two nations of France and Great Britain, the

eminent regard you have shewn to men of letters and to literature itself, and your character for general courtesy; all these causes have conspired to facilitate my access to your Majesty, and have made me indulge the hope, that you would graciously and favorably accept this production of my industry, such as it may be, presented to your Majesty by the King's ambassador, who is my near relation. I have not taken this step without the concurrence of my Royal Master; I may add that he advised and commanded it, and said also, that a work, which related events of so much consequence, if it had not been dedicated to him, ought to have been inscribed to your Majesty. You will find many things well done, the larger part otherwise; the history of your own and our people; you will also find examples of salutary precepts, which you have consigned to all posterity, in a book*

* Basilicon Doron.

that deserves to be written in letters of gold. This account will suffice to your Majesty; your own experienced judgment, and that discernment in which you so much excel, will lead to every just observation.

“ I pray Almighty God to preserve the Most Christian King to his people, and your Majesty to your subjects, and both for the general benefit of Christendom. And as he has lately inclined your minds to cultivate, by all good offices and friendly services, a closer bond of mutual amity; so may he dispose the hearts and turn the attention of both, by joint consent, to restore concord in the Church; lest, in ratifying articles of peace, ye may seem to have been more intent on strengthening your respective territories, than in exalting the glory of the supreme Lord of all. I take my leave of your Most Serene Majesty, wishing you prosperity, and that you may condescend to extend to me that kindness, which so conspicu-

ously manifests itself towards all your friends.

Your Majesty's most devoted,

JAC. AUG. THUANUS,

Paris, Jan. 31, 160 $\frac{3}{4}$."

There is an honest simplicity and a frankness in the concluding part of this letter, rarely discoverable in addresses to crowned heads. That it was well received appears from the following letter written in French by the King's ambassador, the gentleman alluded to above, who appears to have been a son of the President De Harlay by Thuanus's sister.

"To M. De Thou, Privy Counsellor of the King, and President in His Majesty's Court of Parliament.

"SIR,

"I HAVE presented your letter, with your book, to the King; who received it with such marks of esteem for the Author, and has since spoken so

highly of it in public, that you have every reason to be satisfied with his approbation, and to console and fortify yourself by his testimony against the attacks of envy and calumny, by which I understand you have been assailed from various quarters. The King promised me that he would answer your letter, with the style of which he was extremely pleased. He has perused your dedication of your history to His Majesty King Henry, and said that it was one of the finest pieces of writing he had ever read, not excepting the works of antiquity: and sincerely, for my own part, the more I read it, the more I find my admiration of its beauties encreased. "You have undertaken a great work," *magnum opus aggressuses*," as worthy of your free and courageous spirit, as the slavery of the age in which we live, is unworthy of it. I think you will do well for the present to defer printing your materials down to the year 90; for I should fear you would not be

able to resist the opposition of those who are chagrined to see their fathers marked with disgrace.

“ King James is about to send a gentleman to the Court of France, upon the death of Madame Le Bar.* I will endeavor that he shall carry his Majesty’s thanks and a letter to you. I now humbly kiss your hands, and shall pray God, Sir, to grant you, with health, a long and happy life.

“ Your obedient nephew and servant,

“ DE HARLAY.”

London, March 10, 1604.

King James *did* write a letter in French to Thuanus about this time, an extract from which has been given in the Preface; but it may perhaps be interesting to the reader to peruse it entire.

* Sister of Henry IV. and married to the Duke of Bar, of the House of Lorraine.

“ To M. De Thou, President of the Parliament of Paris.

“ M. President,

“ We thank you very kindly for the letter you addressed to us, and for the book you have sent, the production of your own labor; for the compliment, as well as for the present. You manifest the respect and good-will you bear to our person, which we receive and acknowledge with a return of affection, and take in good part the exhortation, which, in the sincerity of an honest heart, you make on the subject of using our efforts to forward union in the Church, by an elucidation and adjustment of religious differences. To this measure we assure you that we are, and always shall be not only disposed, but earnest in promoting it; and on all occasions, every exertion that depends on us, shall be employed for so laudable an object. We have never, we thank God, entertained a spirit of sectarianism, nor dis-

regarded the general good of Christendom, and we cannot but wish that all princes and potentates were actuated by the same inclinations and desires with ourselves on this point, that the road might be smoothed for bringing so worthy and important a business to some desirable conclusion, which might tend to the happiness and tranquillity of all Christian people. They might then unanimously direct their efforts against the common enemy."

For the remaining part of this letter see the Preface.* The following is addressed to the celebrated Camden, who appears to have paid some attention to Thuanus's history, probably in making remarks on the account of English affairs. The Author profits by the opportunity of commencing a correspondence with his critic, and shews a laudable solicitude to obtain farther information, which might

* Page 2.

confirm the authenticity of his narrative.

“ J. A. Thuanus to the very learned
W. Camden.

“ I THANK you, most learned Sir, for the extraordinary services which you have rendered me with so much polite kindness. I had scarcely hoped that you would have done that at my request, which you have performed at the mere suggestion of one of my friends. For what am I, that I should at all interrupt your serious studies? Does Camden throw away his well-spent time in reading any thing of mine; and oblige, by so great a favor, a person unknown to him? Since however you are so forward in doing good offices, you shall find me unmerciful in tasking your kindness. The attention you have paid to my history of your own affairs, I wish you to extend to those of Scotland; in which I fear I have made some mistakes. I wish particularly, to

have your advice, in what manner I can relate the affairs of Scotland during the year 1566,* (which part of the history is now in the press) without giving offence, and yet with truth. Here I am at a stand, having already experienced the envy and ill-will of our own people on other accounts; nor do I wish to commit myself so far, as to incur the charge of imprudence among you, or to be said to have done any thing of which *he* † might justly complain, who has lately honored me with a letter, and exhorted me to publish the rest of my work, which I have carried down to the year 1596, with equal candor and attachment to truth.

“ Buchanan has perhaps recorded the events to which I allude, with too much

* He alludes to Mary Queen of Scot's marriage with Earl Bothwell, who was supposed to have been concerned in the murder of her former husband, Lord Darnley.

† King James.

bitterness, and I understand that the pupil has, on this account, conceived some displeasure towards his tutor; and yet, since they did take place, they cannot be concealed without discredit to the historian. Write, and refuse not your advice to a friend who is at a loss how to proceed. A hint will be sufficient, and you need not explain yourself in too plain terms. Whatever you write, I shall consider not only as advice, but as a command. In the next edition of the part already published, you will discover how much I esteem, as I ought, your admonitions. In your Irish affairs I am completely a stranger, nor have I met with any person, who has been either an eyewitness of them, or gathered any personal information concerning them. Little, as you know, has been written on the subject; and except *Stanyhurst, and the

* An Irish historian and poet of the sixteenth century.

maps of the island lately published, and what you have added to your immortal Britannia, I have had no documents from which I could gain instruction. I have as yet neither seen nor heard of any account of the last* war. I wish to know what information you possess on this subject and what I may expect from your country; in the first place concerning Lord Tyrone, with whom you were engaged; his family, origin, the quality and number of his adherents, his manners and talents, and the motives which induced him to contend with so great a power as that of Elizabeth, lastly the conditions on which he submitted.

“ I lament, that none of your countrymen have as yet committed to writing the exploits of that great queen. For my own part, if I possessed power of mind, and talent worthy of the subject, leisure,

* He alludes to the Irish Rebellion in 1599, headed by Lord Tyrone.

and an intimate knowledge of your affairs, and proper materials for the work, I should have considered it an honor, to be disputed with any man, to be the herald of her fame. But I fear, lest this should seem to you too arrogant a speech: but it is to be excused, as proceeding from my extraordinary predilection in favor of that sovereign; which caused me to form presumptuously, not indeed a hope, but a wish, that some part of her glory might be reflected upon me. See the familiarity with which I treat you, in consequence of the kindness you have expressed. In return, I entreat you to employ me, as one who is most bound to you.

“Adieu, my friend Camden: continue to love me, which I consider as the highest felicity, and forget not to shew that love, by writing to me, when your leisure permits. Once more adieu. Paris, February 10th, 1605.”

Camden's answer is dated in May of the same year.

“ W. Camden to the illustrious J. A.
Thuanus, Greeting.

“ I AM much vexed and distressed, illustrious Sir, that by some accident or negligence, I did not receive your letter, dated February 10th, until the 13th of April ensuing. It has happened inconveniently ; for besides, that you must suspect me of the fault of negligence, of which I am really innocent, desiring nothing more earnestly than to make a suitable return to your much-valued affection ; the fact is, I am now hindered by business from executing that, which I could have done with the greatest ease last month. Meanwhile the powerful and zealous nature of my attachment, has impelled me to send the present account to you. With regard to the account of Scotch affairs, already submitted to the press, I see not how I can assist you ; but all the exertions of my diligence and zeal are at your service.

“ In the transactions of the year 1566, you must proceed cautiously, with regard

to the Lords Murray and Hamilton, the queen, the king, and the partizans of different sides: a middle course will be the safest. James, Earl of Murray, natural brother to Queen Mary, and Hamilton, Duke of Chatellerault, separately aspired to the throne; the latter by hereditary right, for his Grandmother was daughter of King James the second. Murray, of a lofty spirit, *imagined* some solemnization of marriage between his father and mother, and hoped to supply the defect of his birth, by a specious pretext of attachment to the reformed religion, by his personal merit and the strength of his party. Each, when the queen returned to Scotland from France, wished her already in Heaven; each, inflamed by his own particular ambition and hope of success, officiously raised obstacles to her marrying again. Murray exerted himself the most; by his artifices he paved the way for Mary's abdication and exile, making use of the assistance of Bucha-

nan, (the "Archbellows, which excited the flame of rebellion," as our king sometimes calls him;) who, attacking the queen with infamous libels, fastened upon her character many false aspersions: so that, whatever credit he may generally deserve, you must not lightly believe what he relates in regard to the queen and her natural brother. Mary, full of youth and vivacity, unused to govern, freely indulged in the enjoyment of her prosperity: the *king likewise, young and inexperienced, credulous, lighter than a feather or a leaf, was neither capable of judging well for himself, nor of adopting wise advice, and the secrets of state were a burden to him. Hence he lost the queen's affections; the factious laid snares for him, and finally succeeded in taking his life. Elizabeth, our queen, was a spectatress of these scenes, and often commiserated the queen of Scotland; but less than she would otherwise have done, on account of

* Lord Darnley.

her having usurped the title and arms of England, and because the Romanists amongst us had placed all their dependance upon her. I can only hint at this account of the matter, which men of prudence and moderation here believe to be the least removed from truth ; you must use your own judgment and your own pen."

This brief and masterly sketch of an important period of Scottish History is particularly interesting, on account of the circumstances under which it is given. The remainder of Camden's letter relates to the affairs of Ireland, and is too long, as the object of it is irrelevant to the present work, to be inserted.

Camden's defence of Mary Queen of Scots, in the above extract, is evidently forced : he joins the relation of her decrease of affection towards her husband, and of his violent end, in the same sentence, and his style is both hurried and obscure. In consequence of his connec-

tion with the English Court, he cannot be supposed to have had the free exercise of his pen on this point. Thuanus was not subject to the same embarrassment, and indeed appears to have been incapable of concealing or disguising his real opinion, on any occasion, from motives of personal consideration. In a subsequent letter to Camden, dated August, 1606, he mentions the publication of a second volume of his History; and expresses his fears, that in the relation of Scotch affairs, he may not have preserved that exact line of prudent moderation, which his friend recommended. He enters into a discussion of facts, which he thinks unfavourable to the reputation of the unfortunate Mary: he blames her precipitate and "scandalous" marriage with Bothwell, and considers her, if not accessory to the death of her former husband, at least extremely reprehensible in favouring those to whom the suspicion of having murdered him so notoriously attached.

Thuanus sent his History to that eminent and liberal-minded scholar, Sir Henry Savile, who had travelled in France, and seems to have formed an intimacy of some standing with him. Sir Henry's answer in Latin, from which the following extract is made, is dated London, December, 1607. Thuanus had expressed an apprehension that some parts of the work might give offence to King James.

“ That every part of your History, illustrious Sir, is written with becoming moderation, no one doubts, who is at all acquainted with you and your accustomed candor. But he who writes a history must incur various censures from various quarters; this you know by experience, and all the world is witness of the fact. What our great men think of your second volume (for I wrote to you concerning the *first before), I have not thought it necessary to enquire very anxiously, for fear of opening afresh those wounds which I cannot heal. There are some

* This letter does not appear.

wounds, which the gentlest touch will exulcerate; and your known prudence must have taught you, that with persons of tender and delicate ears, silence on many subjects is better than an apology. However, as far as I understand, no anger is conceived against you here: the favor you gained by your first volume, continues unimpaired and undiminished.

“ With regard to the general voice of people, who read impartially, and have no cause for hatred or affection in the case, I have no occasion to speak; for all, without a word from me, exclaim that our age has not produced a work more true, more useful, or more classical.

“ I will forward the edition of Chrysostom, a laborious and difficult work, with all possible expedition. It would have been already completed, had not your printers refused me the use of your types, and even your king denied them, though his majesty made the request through his ambassador. But I will en-

* The Greek types at Paris were at that time the best extant.

deavor to surmount these difficulties ; and you shall, from time to time, know my success. I am very much obliged by your granting to my friends a free access to your library, and for the copy of St. Gregory of Nazianzen ; and perhaps posterity may be equally indebted."

All the circumstances here alluded to cannot at this distance of time be ascertained with precision ; but it may be plainly understood from this account, that Thuanus paid a truly laudable attention to every object of literature.

In the same year, 1607, Camden transmitted some remarks on the History, which are not of great importance. They accompanied a present of his *Britannia*, in a new edition ; in which he says he has but slightly mentioned Scotland, being a stranger to that country, and fearing also that he might disappoint the nationality of the people, who, he says, are not satisfied, as he has experienced, unless Scotland be preferred to England, (which the

soil and climate forbid), or at least be placed on a level with it. This remark was perhaps intended as a friendly intimation to Thuanus, whose history he declares to be the constant object of his attention, as a model both for sentiment and style. He adds, "In your account of Scotch affairs, you have observed a truly discreet moderation by refraining from invectives. Yet our king, who has conceived great hostility to Buchanan, lays the chief blame to the Earl of Murray, as the source and foundation of his mother's calamity; he has learnt this, it is said, from those who were privy to state matters at that time; and has urged some person, I understand, to write her life, but I cannot suppose it will ever be published.

"Your fidelity, as an historian, so far from wanting a defence, appears so truly candid, amidst these religious dissensions of the age, that it is a subject of general admiration and delight; and your serious-

ness entirely dissipates certain stale calumnies and infamous aspersions. Proceed as you have begun, and both the present age and posterity will applaud your veracity joined with integrity of heart.

“ You will find that I have not been so busy in the second part, as I was in the first; your diligence has prevented me, by obtaining an accurate knowledge of facts. If you think it worth while, you may correct a few trivial errors, which I have noted, in regard to proper names. Receive the best wishes of a friend, and fail not to acknowledge Camden as one of the most ardent promoters of your fame.” London, November 22, 1607.

King James was by no means satisfied with Thuanus's account of those circumstances in his mother's history, which at that period required such delicacy in the narration. The author sensibly felt all his difficulties, and in a letter addressed to Camden, in 1608, says, “ The Histo-

rian's province, if he be resolved to do his duty, is indeed a painful one; for the law of history obliges him, not only to say nothing false, but to be bold in delivering the whole truth."

The learned Casaubon came over to England in 1610, by invitation from the king; and in a letter to Thuanus, thus explains his majesty's sentiments on the subject in question.

"The letter which you lately sent to me, illustrious President, I put into the hands of his most excellent majesty for his perusal. I had long wished that his majesty might be made acquainted with your respect for him, in your own words; and might know with what esteem and reverence you regard his many virtues and extensive learning. I was well assured that such were your sentiments, and have not hesitated, since my residence at this court, whenever your name has been mentioned, to affirm, in the strongest terms, that there exists not a person

who entertains more exalted ideas of his majesty's character, or who commends it with greater warmth and satisfaction, than yourself. Your letter, therefore, in which you confirmed these assertions by your own words, came exactly at a proper season, and nothing could be more gratifying to me. The king, being a lover of truth himself, was much pleased with that love of truth which your letter expresses. He was also much pleased with your candor in acknowledging, that if you had in any part of your narration committed a mistake, you would gladly correct it, upon receiving more accurate information. You act, in this respect, Illustrious President, upon motives worthy of yourself, like a man who has made a regard to truth his chief study, throughout the whole tenor of his life; and particularly in the character of an historian.

“ With this impression upon his mind of your disposition, his majesty, though

of the mildest temper, sees, not without impatience, that you have been misled by a certain party; and have been transported beyond the bounds of truth, in repeating in your letters, and relating with a diligent and scrupulous minuteness, reports to the prejudice of his blessed mother of glorious memory. These his majesty knows, and knows with certainty, to be false, and to have been the fabrication of a set of men, rebels to her power, and who exerted themselves by every possible means in harassing her and bringing destruction on her head."

Casaubon proceeds to say, that King James has given it in charge to an English Baronet (Sir Robert Cotton) to prepare some memoirs upon this subject, more consonant to truth than the statement of Buchanan, from whom Thuanus derived his account. These memoirs were finished and transmitted to Thuanus in 1611; and he professes, in a subsequent letter to Casaubon, to have made use of

them in correcting a second edition for the press. This part of his history, however, (in the 40th book) still conveys an imputation upon Mary's conduct, by dwelling on the disgust she had conceived for Lord Darnley, her indecent appearance in public only twelve days after his death, and her notorious fondness for the suspected Bothwell, whom she afterwards married.

Sir Robert Cotton's Memoirs, here alluded to, are supposed to have been inserted in "Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth;" and Buckley,* in his edition of Thuanus, mentions, that some manuscript remarks upon this part of his history, then preserved in the Cottonian Library in the hand-writing of Casaubon, were said to have been dictated by King James.

Such was the reception Thuanus's history experienced in England. Opinions,

* Vol. VII.

which deserve great consideration, were passed upon its merits in other quarters; and a reference to them, at the same time that it makes a part of the present subject, in some respects presents a view of the state of literature at that period, and of the common bond of intimacy which it formed between persons of different ranks, and nations, and professions of faith.

The Elector-palatine, Frederick the Fourth, addressed a letter to his dear friend Thuanus, dated Heidelberg, Dec. 10, 1606. He thanks him for a present received of the second publication of his history, and adds: " By this most useful work, which is consecrated to eternity, you have made us and our posterity your debtors; you have happily, and by means of great and indefatigable industry, ascertained the truth of facts, which is generally buried amidst the conflict of parties; and have most meritoriously asserted it, for the benefit of succeeding generations."

The second letter is in French, from a Venetian nobleman, dated 1604, who terms Thuanus's history "an excellent and immortal work;" and particularly commends it on the grounds of veracity, and purity of language. This letter is remarkable for the explicit sentiments it contains respecting religion, which it is reasonable to conclude, secretly prevailed amongst many moderate romanists of that time; and probably influenced Thuanus himself. This writer does not hesitate to acknowledge the corruptions of the Romish church, but asserts that, "corrupt as it is, it is nevertheless the catholic church." He wishes Thuanus to undertake the conversion of Casaubon, and says, "that good man is mistaken in supposing there is no difference between a Catholic and a Papist." There can be little doubt that the Court of Rome would not have been satisfied with these opinions, but would have condemned them as heretical. The same letter men-

tions that a copy of the history has been sent to Father Paul, and that he means to write by the next opportunity; but unfortunately no letter appears from this great man.

The following is an extract of a letter, written by Thuanus to Joseph Scaliger, in 1604.

“ You will receive with this three copies of my history, which you may dispose of at your pleasure. If you have leisure to look at it, I beg you to send me your opinion, and to acquaint me honestly with my faults, as you have been used to do: I will take pains to correct them in the next edition. I fear their number is so great, as to astonish and deter you from this office; but I also know that you love me, and am on this account emboldened to urge my request. I suppose your printers are already at work upon your Eusebius; their diligence will never keep pace with the desire we have of seeing it, on account of the benefit every one hopes to

derive from it. I am particularly influenced by the * honor that awaits me from its publication, an honour which I esteem to be greater than any my services have merited. May God preserve your health, that you may be enabled to complete this work, and others which may serve as barriers against present and future irruptions of barbarism."

Scaliger's answer, in French, is dated from Leyden, in the same year :

" SIR,

" I return my humble thanks for the three copies of your history, which you have been so good as to send me. In the first place, I read with attention your preface, and was absolutely charmed by the purity of the style, and the honest boldness of the sentiments. I shall not quit the work till I have read it through.

* It was dedicated to Thuanus,

I have seen the honorable testimony* of commendation you have been pleased to bestow on my father; who, worthy as he was of being praised, could not have found a better panegyrist. As for myself, upon whom you pass an encomium worthy of a better subject, I shall only say that the reader will suppose that the merit of the father, and the friendship the historian entertained for the son, induced him to praise both."

Justus Lipsius advised the correction of some parts of the work, written with more freedom than was suited to the age. Thuanus complains of this censure in a letter to Joseph Scaliger, who laughs at Lipsius, and calls the preface "a divine composition, in which the reader will find the dignity of the senator, the fidelity of the historian, and the elegance of the scholar." In 1606 he published his Eusebius, with a dedication addressed to

* See the 21st Book of the History.

Thuanus, which commences with these terms: "To whom should I rather dedicate this work than to you, of whose mental endowments, integrity, mild disposition, and singular moderation, even if I had not known them by experience, the voice of common fame had informed me."

Daniel Heinsius admires the history altogether, and in particular its undaunted freedom. Grotius is astonished that "amidst the fatigue of business, the author should have found leisure to compose a work, in which all kinds of learning are united with true wisdom." He says to one of his correspondents, that Thuanus writes Latin with so much elegance, he is almost deterred from using the same language. The following extracts of letters from this celebrated man to Thuanus, may be interesting, in proving the respect and esteem, in which our Author was held by the learned and distinguished characters of his age.

" MOST NOBLE SIR,

" I STAID a year in France ; I saw the first of kingdoms, the first of kings, the first nobles in the world. This gives me great pleasure ; but I saw not you, which grieves me. I could not insinuate myself into an intimacy with you ; all that remains for me, is to endeavor to compensate, by an epistolary correspondence, that point in which I personally failed."

Delft, April 1, 1599.

Extract of another letter from Grotius, dated 1601:—

" I am wholly employed in making collections, which may be of use to you in the composition of your annals of France ; for I think it important to my country, that it should profit by so admirable an opportunity of having its exploits published, together with the history of neighbouring states. I shall also be diligent in examining, as you desire, the exact place and time at which learned

men of our nation have died. Happy are you, who can make that the employment of your leisure hours, which I can easily conceive are but few, which would be a work much beyond the ability of others, who should devote their time to it. Happy is France, in being governed by men, who, whatever portion of time they may have at their disposal after executing public business, employ it with liberal spirit in the service of literature. May I be happy enough, at some future period, to enjoy in that country the society of her illustrious characters. I do not despair that this period may soon arrive, whilst I hope that I shall not forfeit your favor."

Grotius was born in 1583, and was therefore a very young man when he first addressed Thuanus, and presented him with his edition of Martianus Capella (a Latin poet of the 5th century) the first fruits of his studies, and dedicated to the Prince of Condé. The friendship thus

commenced between them, continued until the death of Thuanus.

Meursius, another learned Dutchman, in a letter to Casaubon, points out some errors, which Thuanus committed in the History of the Netherlands, and gives a list of mistaken names. Thuanus finds his criticisms too severe, and though he desired they might be continued, his subsequent letters manifest considerable coolness to Meursius.

Lingelsheim, of Heidelberg, who took the charge of editing the entire history after the author's death, is the most lavish of his applause; and language seems to fail him, whilst he expresses his astonishment at the beauties of Thuanus's work. He calls him one of the greatest of men.* Their correspondence partly turns on editing the works of Occam; a commission which Thuanus entrusted to M. Bongars,

* Summe virorum.

a learned man, and confidentially employed by King Henry IV. in Germany. Occam was a scholastic divine of the 14th century, of the order of Cordeliers, and by birth an Englishman. He was stiled by his party the invincible Doctor, and wrote against the power of the Popes. Thuanus's instructions, on the present occasion, with regard to the publication of his works, are interesting, as they shew his desire of counteracting the pretensions of papal authority; which he particularly says Cardinal Bellarmine has extended too far, and thinks it ought to be reduced to its "legitimate and primitive limits." Bongars delivered Thuanus's instructions on this subject, which are very particular, to Melchior Goldast, who published some of Occam's treatises at Francfort, in 1612.

Ubbo Emmius consults Thuanus concerning his decades of the history of Friesland. He addresses him in the most respectful manner, using three epithets,

and sometimes more, "most noble, most illustrious, most learned."

Scipio Gentilis praises the history in terms so similar to those already cited from other panegyrists, that it is needless to insert them. He urges Thuanus in the prosecution of his work, to make such just and favorable mention of the University of Altorf, of which he is a member, as may serve to invalidate the injurious statement of Osiander; who, in his Ecclesiastical History, had charged it with giving support to Calvinism.

Smetius, at the age of seventy, appears to have perused Thuanus's work, with more alacrity than any other of his critics; and his remarks display great accuracy and acuteness. He wishes the modern names to be subjoined, as the ancient or latinized names are difficult to be understood. He complains that there are no breaks in the pages, even when the subject changes; by which circumstance the eye is fatigued. He objects to the words

“ nos et nostra,” “ us and our,” applied to France, as implying partiality.

Smetius makes other pertinent remarks on the affectation of disguising names of persons and places in order to preserve latinity. “ You do not write (he says) for Cæsar, or Sallust, or Tacitus; but it is necessary to render your work intelligible to our posterity.” The critic obtained no answer for eight months, and anxiously enquired if he had given offence. He then received a very * friendly letter; but afterwards, observing that in a new edition his strictures were entirely disregarded, he expresses himself doubtful whether or not to continue them.

Octavius Meninius, after much consideration, judges Thuanus to be the most eminent literary character in Europe; and therefore he paid him the compliment, though not personally known to the historian, to dedicate some verses to him. They

* Scriptas peramicè.

are in Alcaic measure, and entitled, "The Immortality of the Writings of the illustrious Thuanus." The principal thought in them turns upon the superiority of mental productions, in point of duration, over other monuments of human skill. These are some of the best stanzas ;

- Ter o beati, qui sibi consulunt,
Æternitatem nominis et parant
Doctas per artes ; nunc legendo
Quæ veterum vigilata curâ,
Nunc lucubrando postera quæ legens
Miretur ætas : Tuque potissimum
Thuane, felix ter quaterque,
Cujus opus numero carentes
Vivet per annos. Unicè Galliæ
Florentis, o flos, raraque gloria,
Thuane, musis invidenda
Ausoniis, Latioque cœlo,
Tu namque motus, inclyte, publicos
Præsentis ævi, bellaque tristia,
Causasque bellorum, modosque,
Historiâ celebras disertâ.
Et nunc triumphos nobilium Ducum,
Nunc magna narras funera principum,
Fractasque regnorum columnas,
Et penitus quatefacta sceptrâ.

Æris strepentis jam videor sonum
Audire, stricti jam gladii micant :
Jam pallor, horror, morsque sæva
Per medias equitat catervas.

Jam jam tremendam fulminis in modum
Henricus hastam torquet, et agmina
Prosternit; hosti lenis idem
Postmodo dat veniam jacenti.

Happy are they, in Fame's bright list enroll'd,
Who read and imitate the wise of old :
And thou, Thuanus, happiest of those :
Who, in the texture of thy numerous prose,
Hast dared the cause and fate of wars to trace,
Thrones rent, and kingdoms shaken to the base.
Is it a dream? or do I hear the din
Of arms ; and deeds of bloodshed now begin?
Pale fear, and flight, and horror, hover nigh,
And death exulting gluts his cruel eye.
I see great Henry shake his thundering lance,
And like a God o'er prostrate foes advance ;
And now in mercy bending o'er the plain,
He lifts the fallen, and relieves their pain.

This poet writes from Venice, which place seems to have manifested particular favor towards Thuanus. His chief correspondence is with a cluster of German scholars, who formed one of the many constellations which had long begun to

more worthy to be consulted than Livy was." Our historian in reply, is not backward to repay this profuse panegyric.

The other Spaniard is not so courteous. He has never been in France, but having conceived a great affection for that country, proposes to write its history. In order to gain a more accurate knowledge of facts, he wishes to peruse the work of Thuanus, particularly that part of it which relates to the civil wars. Unfortunately he is precluded from reaping the desired advantage, by his imperfect knowledge of the Latin language. He waits therefore until the history be translated into French; and meanwhile contents himself with blaming, in severe terms, some of its faults, which he seems to have discovered from general report, particularly the favor shewn by the Author to Calvinists, and his consequent want of zeal for the papal interests.

To this letter, dated 1616, there is no reply from Thuanus. He was perhaps in

too great affliction. Besides the distress occasioned by some public troubles, the death of his second wife, Gasparde de la Chastre, daughter of the Count de Nancy, had taken place in that year. He had married her in the year 1602, and had by her three sons, and three daughters.

Camden, in a subsequent letter to those already considered, notes some few errors committed by Thuanus, in the names of places in England and Ireland. He praises the work "for judgment, diligence, and fidelity," and exhorts his friend not to be deterred, from prosecuting it, by calumny, which was to be expected; "for (he adds) the historian's task is in the beginning envy, in the continuation labor, in the end hatred."

Casaubon says, that "different persons admire the divine history of the great Thuanus on different accounts;" he thinks the "correct judgment passed in it on so many learned men by no means its least

excellence." At another time Casaubon writes, "a person may receive without hesitation, as a work of merit, any book that has been approved by Thuanus."

There are some notes extant on the history by the celebrated Du Plessis Mornay, who, in the time of King Henry the Fourth, obtained so much consideration among his party, that he was called the Pope of the Protestants. These remarks are made upon particular passages, and relate chiefly to some circumstances, of which Du Plessis Mornay had a personal knowledge. Like the observations on Thuanus, scattered in different parts of Bayle's Dictionary, they are more interesting to the readers of the history itself, than to those who wish only to be acquainted with its general character. Thuanus, at the end of his 127th book, giving an account of Francis Junius, father of the grammarian, represents him as a man "of unstable genius, who attempted many things, but, with respect

to his success, learned men must decide." Gerard Vossius, son-in-law to Junius, entered into a vindication of him from this aspersion; and Bayle agrees with Vossius in pronouncing the censure unjust.

Having thus considered, in one point of view, the reception which the history of Thuanus experienced among foreigners; it remains that we relate its fate in France, and collect the materials, which are but scanty, relative to the remaining years of our Author's life.

The two subjoined letters, addressed to him by King Henry the Fourth, and dated in 1598, will sufficiently shew the esteem and regard that monarch entertained for him, before the publication of his historical work. They are written in French.

" M. PRESIDENT,

" I HAVE received so many convincing proofs of your affection for my service, and am so much pleased with

them, that I have determined to delay no longer to testify my feelings on the subject, and to manifest the esteem which your talents, probity, and manly spirit, have raised in my mind. These qualities are particularly commendable in this age, which has been so much depraved by the iniquity of times past. Wishing therefore to make all the world acknowledge your merit, as I acknowledge it; and on this account to bring you nearer my person, and employ you in more important affairs, I have caused a commission of counsellor of state and of finance to be made out, and now send it you. I desire and intend, that you should in future be present and assist at all my councils, and I promise myself that your service will not be less faithful and affectionate than it has hitherto been: I hope it will be continued, and you are to expect from me all the return a good master, and one who loves you, can make; as events shall convince you.

“ I wrote to you some time since to remove from the hands of the nephew of the late Abbé of Bellebranche, the library of the late Queen-Mother* of my lord the King; and if you have not already executed this commission, I again desire and command it; as a thing which I desire and wish and have much at heart, in order that no part of it may be lost, and that you may add it to my own collection. Adieu, M. President.

“ HENRY.”

Monceaux, Nov. 4, 1598.

“ M. PRESIDENT,

“ BEFORE you could write to me, or any person in the world speak to me in your behalf, as soon as I heard the news of the death of the Bishop of Chartres your uncle, I remembered the reversion of the Abbey of Bellefontaine, which I had granted to you on his death. Such are the proofs I wish to give of my remem-

* Catherine de Medicis.

brance of your services; as also the commission of Counsellor of State, founded on the confidence I have always had in your fidelity and attachment. Upon the same ground you shall always, upon occasion, find me as much disposed to shew my acknowledgement, as I now sincerely pray God, M. President, to have you in his holy keeping.

“HENRY.”

Monceaux, Nov. 10.

There is no date of the year, but the Bishop of Chartres, died in 1598.

The King expressed himself extremely pleased with our Author's preface, and had it translated into French. He could not have been offended at the general tenor of a work, which defended the rights of his crown, and in religious affairs extolled that moderation, which he had himself used.

Nevertheless the clouds of royal displeasure soon began to appear, and seem to have been caused by the apprehension

Henry felt of entangling himself in fresh disputes with the Court of Rome. In a letter to his ambassador at that place, dated May 4th, 1604, he says: "When the Pope's nuncio spoke to me, in terms of complaint, against the President's book, I let him know my disapprobation of it, and that I had stopped its sale, which has been done."

Extract of a letter from M. Peter du Puy to Joseph Scaliger, dated Paris, Nov. 19, 1604.

"The President's work is, I understand, an admirable composition; and yet has been attacked with much slander and calumny by the Jesuits, and other people of that sort, who do not deserve to see it, less to read it, and much less to dare give an opinion on it. He informed me the other day, of a singular instance of groundless accusation. At the beginning of his third book he says that Henry, King of England, declared himself head of his Church, and "upon the whole (these are

his words) ordained good and learned bishops." The Jesuits and their party blame this manner of speaking. Now he has discovered that Sanders, who wrote 'Of the State of the English Church,' (his book is printed at Rome) when he speaks of these bishops, calls them 'by no means bad.' You see then, Sir, in what trouble those who will write in these times involve themselves; for if they do not write according to the humour and disposition of these people, censure is immediately abroad, and they sift even to the very expression for a fault." This account must be understood with some limitation, for one of our Author's friends about this time, writes that a new edition is in the press, and that no copies of the old can be procured.

Our author himself, writing to a friend, speaks in these terms of his history: the letter is in French, dated Paris, September 3, 1604: "The trouble I have experienced on account of my history, and the ill-will

* *Minimè malos.*

it has caused me, almost extinguish the desire I had of continuing a work which from its subject must have been useful to the public, and my fidelity and diligence might have encreased its importance. But I have learnt from sad experience that the wages of those who embrace truth, is hatred from the great, who wish at all events to be flattered: so that if after having praised them where they deserve praise, you happen to surprize them in some fault, (as it is impossible that those who are exposed to the sight of all the world, and employed in public affairs, should not waver sometimes,) they are angry and forget all the past. Then it happens, according to the proverb, that for a broken glass ten years of service shall be lost. Against all this I seek consolation in my conscience, &c."

It appears that King Henry, in consequence of the clamour raised, thought it necessary seriously to discountenance the work. The following extract is part of

a letter from De Villeroi, his minister, to the King's ambassador at Rome, dated May 5, 1603.

“ I believe the President repents of having published his history, and that he would not proceed to such lengths, if the thing were to be done again. We must contrive with as little noise as possible, to apply some remedy; and there is no other but to prevent its re-publication. I have spoken to him by his Majesty's desire; and he says he will be the first to bury it in oblivion, and to prevent farther discourse on the subject. Not that he thinks he has failed in this work, nor has he in the least altered his opinion on religious topics; but he would not do any thing disagreeable to his Majesty, or prejudicial to his interests.” These sentiments are very creditable to him. Though the avenues to public favor were thus in some measure closed, our Author continued, without remission, to prosecute in private his favorite pursuit.

In the year 1606, he brought his history down to the year 1601, and concluded it with the event of the Dauphin's birth. "Upon this occasion," he says,* "the Parisians and all the cities throughout the realm, testified the public joy by the festive firing of canon. Thanksgivings were offered in the churches, and the minds of all men were animated by the prospect of a certain succession in the royal family, and of tranquillity thus ensured to posterity. The public peace would still have appeared insecure, if this inheritor of the crown had sprung from any other than that same great man, to whom all individually and collectively, owed their safety. Under him it was reasonable to hope, that the dominion established by the valor of the father, would hereafter be administered by the son, in uninterrupted peace, to the glory of God and the happiness of the people. Proceed, (he con-

* Lib. 126, at the end.

tinues) under these prosperous auspices, O child, beloved of Heaven; and whilst you renew the name of Dauphin, which so long threatened to be extinct, establish the splendor of the regal dignity, which these commotions tarnished, in the minds of the French. Proceed to unite those discordant inclinations already joined by your illustrious father, directing especially all your councils, and energies, to promote the glory of God, by whom and for whom kings reign. Be just; be peaceable towards your neighbours; benign to your subjects; order your government so as to give dignity to virtue, and rewards to merit, to the extinction of vile corruption, the pasture on which avarice fattens. Establish a strict rule of equity amongst all ranks, that the sacred ministers may have nothing to complain of in respect of God's worship, or of reverence to themselves; that the nobility may find no deficiency of honors and dignities, nor the people of that attention which is their due."

The administration of Louis XIII. was triumphant, though perhaps not so virtuous, under Cardinal Richelieu, as completely to fulfil the hopes of Thuanus. His wishes on another point were frustrated; for, in the year 1610, a sacrilegious hand prematurely intercepted the glory and the life of the great Henry.

There is a letter from our author to the President Jeannin, dated 1611, which bears every mark of authenticity, and is extremely curious from the undisguised manner, in which it displays his feelings and opinions. It contains also a sort of epitome of his life, and was composed on the following occasion: Harley, Thuanus's brother-in-law, resigned his office of First President of the Parliament, under the conviction that Thuanus would be appointed to the vacancy, by the Queen Regent, Mary of Medicis. But those enemies, whom his writings had raised, found means to occupy the sovereign's ear to his prejudice, and he met with a repulse.

Under the influence of chagrin and resentment, occasioned by this circumstance, the letter in question was written. It fills seven folio pages.

He begins by acknowledging the kind friendship of Jeannin, in coming to his house to console him, upon the subject of this repulse; and in persevering in the conversation, though Thuanus at first declined it, considering the matter to be incapable of redress. He had determined also that no bitter expression should escape his lips, while the cause of grief was yet fresh in his mind; and wished to take time for debating with himself, and consulting his friends, upon the line of conduct proper to be pursued. He has now had leisure to do this, but professes himself to be still in doubt, whether to resume the functions of the law in his old office, or, as inclination leads, to retire into privacy from courtly splendor and tumult. The reasons on both sides, as they occurred to him at his country house

at Villebon, while considering the subject, and begging God to direct him right, he wishes to submit, without order, to his friend ; and, knowing his candor and prudence, constitutes him sole director of the conduct, which he ought, as an honest man and a gentleman, to adopt.

“ I grieve,” he says, “ for the injury I have sustained in my own person ; I grieve more, because greater injury has been offered to the commonwealth. I have neglected my private affairs, but the wounds of my country never : none can accuse me of avarice or ambition ; and if, in the present instance, my cause can in any way be separated from that of the public, I am content to be silent.

“ My ancestors, on both sides, rank among the principal dignitaries of the law. My father instilled into me the principles of pure patriotism ; and, in the beginning of my legal career, I gained the friendship of noblemen who entertained similar opinions. My reputation

increased, and procured me the notice of kings and princes. To my sovereign, King Henry III. I was an active and faithful servant, whilst the storm of calamity was upon him : I executed his commissions to the chief magistrates of the provinces, was chosen of his privy council, and, far from consulting my own ease, accompanied Schomberg in his expedition to Italy and Germany. At Venice, I received the afflicting information of my sovereign's assassination. Upon my return, I waited on the new king at Chateaudun, and gave him intelligence respecting the two countries I had visited.

“ For five years I remained in the camp; with the exception of some short excursions, on the business of the state ; and when at length peace was established, I retired to my books and my family, happy, in addition to the common blessing, in possessing a good conscience and unshaken loyalty. I supposed, indeed, that the King would not forget my ser-

vices during these five years, and that I had suffered the wreck of all my property; and had never yet received pension or reward. His Majesty allowed my disinterestedness, and contrasted it with the conduct of others, to my commendation. The honor of that commendation was all I gained: the King's mind changed with his fortunes: I had the mortification to experience that the favor of princes fluctuates; that they gladly forget their associates in adversity, and consider any attempt at reviving in their minds the memory of past events, in the light of reproach. Why do I enlarge on this topic? That you may be convinced of the hardship of my destiny, which has made me the sport of ingratitude.

“Thus a chilling silence was observed towards me for two years. Discontents then arose among the Protestants, and Thuanus's services forsooth were again found necessary. But I excused myself at first from engaging in the negotiation

with them, because I foresaw the burden of ill-will I should derive from it. Accordingly I was employed for two years in other commissions, and at leisure hours in the composition of my history. As this work is the chief ground of accusation against me, and I have now mentioned it, suffer me to say a few words on the subject.

“ I always considered that I was not born for myself alone, but for my friends and for my country; and my inclination leading me to history, I thought, by composing a relation of the events of our own times, I should perform an act honorable to myself, and not without advantage to the public. I entertained this thought from my early youth, and never lost sight of it, during the various avocations of my life; but continued to collect necessary documents, published and unpublished, from the commentaries of generals, acts of legations, and papers of the secretaries of state. These materials

I further reduced to the scale of truth, by consulting the opinion of many eminent persons of the time, who honored me with their friendship. Such were De Foix, Pibrac, and Schomberg.

“Thus prepared, I began to write, before the civil war was yet extinguished. That I have preserved the most uncorrupted fidelity, without hatred or affection, with no other object in view but the glory of God and the public good, I call God himself to witness, who endowed me with ability to complete so voluminous a work, in the midst of numerous avocations. I do not presume to think myself equal to many of my predecessors in the graces of style, in luminous arrangement, or weight of sentiment; but in diligence and fidelity I yield to none. Of this, be you and posterity my judges.

“My progress was considerable, when I heard that a copy of the first parts, which the curiosity of a German amanuensis had induced him to transcribe, had

found its way into that country, and was on the point of being edited. What could I do? I thought of regaining the transcript, but it had probably been copied again and again. It remained therefore that I should myself publish the work; and it was not from ambition I added my name; but because I preferred risking favor at court, fortune at home, and reputation abroad, to the chance of invalidating, by affected prudence, the credit of a work executed with great labor, for the public weal.

“I expected the attacks of malice, but the event exceeded my expectation. Some noblemen (a class of persons who do not see with their own eyes) suffered themselves to imbibe a prejudice against me; my cause was judged among my enemies at Rome; and by an absurd sentence, the entire work was there condemned, while as yet only a third part was before the world. It was conceived that this would be an obstacle to my

attainment of the dignity in question, to which I had even then received the designation, in the wishes of all good men.

“ The King was at first my protector ; but the subtlety of my enemies, more than their open slander, induced him to waver. The death of some of my friends, in particular of the Cardinals Serafin and D'Ossat, and the coolness and inactivity of others, left me without support. Sillery especially was silent in my behalf to the King, and I think I have reason to complain of his pride or his prudence. After I had sent him my book, it was an insult not to read the preface : but if he had read it, and forbore to use the defence there adduced, his caution was greater than his friendship. I confess I was indignant, and said, that if even Spain had been my native country, I should have received there the honor denied me in France.

“ These circumstances combined to make me an object of easy oppression to

o

the court of Rome. Their censures were levelled at two marks, viz. the concern I had in framing the edict in favor of the Protestants, and the freedom of my history, particularly in defending the rights of my country.

“ I became their victim. The Queen meanwhile was my friend, continually employed my services, and strongly encouraged me to aspire to the dignity in question. Her kindness was repeatedly confirmed to me by her treasurer, who went between us secretly on account of the suspicious temper of the King. I only entreated from her Majesty a continuance of her regard, and that she would in this affair chiefly consult her own interest, and that of the state.

“ Upon the almost miraculous event of the King's death, amidst the general consternation, the parliament performed their duty in declaring the Queen regent; and Harlay and myself exceeded our colleagues in alacrity on the occasion. Four days

after, when I went to pay my respects to her Majesty, she made me the most explicit declarations of favor; not that I earnestly courted any thing, but rather sought to make myself worthy of the dignity, than to possess it. But I soon experienced in the Queen the same change the King had manifested. What was the cause of this alteration I am yet to seek. I hear that the friendship of the Prince of Condé was considered as a ground of objection to me. Unhappy that I am, whom both friends and enemies conspire to injure! I declare I never ingratiated myself with the Prince of Condé, but for the public good. And when I recommended to King Henry IV. to invite this young prince to court, it was with the concurrence of many loyal noblemen, and at a time when the King had no offspring and was unmarried, and without thought of marriage. The last services which I performed for the Prince of Condé, are binding on the conscience of the Queen her-

self. Her Majesty was concerned in the transaction, and as the secret is more hers than mine, I forbear to divulge it.

“ From concern for the public welfare, I afterwards took great pains to reconcile the Prince to the Queen; but so far was I from consulting my own interest, that I would not suffer any mention to be made of myself. I might have extorted the office, which is now refused to me, as a condition from my employers; but I preferred owing it to her Majesty's free favor, and thought this modesty and moderation of mine would be properly appreciated. But I find to my misfortune that deceit and falsehood are the passport to courtly honors; and that whoever has most impudence and least probity acquires in proportion extensive influence. I may say with the poet of Aquinum, ‘ What should I do at Rome? I cannot lie.’

“ The conclusion of the Prince of Condé's affair proved my integrity: and my adversaries turned their thoughts to

fasten another accusation upon my character. They laid to my account the severe decree of parliament, issued against Cardinal Bellarmine's book; and persuaded the Queen that these disputes with the papal court would have no end, if I succeeded to Harlay's situation. It was farther insinuated that the Prince of Condé would not now take umbrage at my repulse; and indeed there was a coolness between us, because I would not be subservient to all his designs.

“ Thus was I excluded from parliament and from favor at court. This flagrant ingratitude, of which all must be sensible, makes my private injury a public concern, on account of the example which it affords. The measure of this unjust return to my important exertions is farther encreased by a comparison of my rival, a new man, unknown, one confessedly inferior to many who yielded to my pretensions, and who began his race of favor by shamefully supplanting another. More-

over if there was a determination to crush me, instead of making me wait in attendance and suspense, it would have been merciful to have destroyed my hopes at once.

“ During this time I made no importunate solicitations ; I did not even use the interference of noblemen who voluntarily offered it ; but committed myself to the Queen’s bounty. How did I then deserve, by a life of innocence and disinterestedness, to be deluded at last to my so great disgrace ? I assume no merit on the ground of family and connections. Yet even these adventitious ornaments deserve respect, as illustrating the dignity of virtue.

“ In a lawyer’s life, I commend moderate wealth, frugal splendor, courteous gravity. Disproportionate pride, luxury, and thirst of power, I cannot endure. Corruption, and even the suspicion of it, which whether truly or not attaches to my competitor, I hold in scorn ; and de-

test brothels, dice, and free living, those incitements to immodesty. These sentiments turn my private injury into a public concern.

“I have shewn that I could endure a superior, when he was a man of gravity, and unimpeachable conduct.

“In the parliament I can no longer retain that character which belongs to me. But you invite me to try my fortune at court; that is to say, amongst harpies, chimæras, monsters. You transform me to an Ixion, and present me with a cloud to fill my embraces. No; I devote myself to solid Virtue, seated on a Cube; alike incapable of deceiving and of being deceived, which rejoices in the truth, and abominates disguise. Such has been my life, that I can never stoop to supplicate, to observe the nod of another, to flatter and feign and grow old in the practice of falsehood, vanity, and dissimulation.

“But, (I will suppose my friends to suggest this) you have been lately made

one of the three Directors of the Finances. Do you hold in such slight estimation a place which has been the object of much competition? When this place was given me, my disgrace was already in contemplation: therefore I wished to excuse myself from accepting it; and nothing would have induced me to accept it but the positive commands of the Queen, and the fear that my refusal would be attributed to pride. Besides, holden up as I have been to suspicion, what have I to do with the finances?

“Tell me, am I to pass my life in petty financial disputes? Am I to die in them? Who would have thought that Thuanus, attached from his early youth to letters, whom the courtiers, in female assemblies, commonly call the philosopher, (a name honorable in itself, though designed for ridicule) should have to pass, in the decline of life, from the seat of Justice to the tables of money-changers? Thus my unhappy fortune has converted

into disgrace that which would have been honor to another.

“ Considering the party now in power, I do not see much prospect for me at Court. The same causes which deprived me of senatorial honors, would exclude me from the royal favor.

“ It is publicly remarked, that the factious and discontented now bear sway; the same spirit prevails which shook the kingdom twenty-five years ago, and ruined it under King Henry III. and was in continual hostility to his illustrious successor. People now begin to talk of the promulgation of the edicts of the Council of Trent, and express their fears of the extent to which the papal authority may be established during the minority of the King. These public murmurs prove that the injury done to me, is inseparably connected with the common cause.

“ If indeed, after this repulse, any mark, public or private, of the Queen’s kindness were conferred on me, it would be a con-

solation to my own mind, and a palliation of my disgrace to my friends. I might then hope that the clouds of suspicion and calumny would in time be dispersed.

“ But since I have only been baffled and amused by fair words, and have been consoled by no reality for the present, by no hope for the future, it remains for me to adopt the words of the poet :

Spes et fortuna, valete ;
Vos alias posthac ludificate animas.

Hope and Fortune, farewell ;
Hereafter make your sport with others.

Being considered either useless, or an object of suspicion, I must live retired ; and before I feel the weight of years, resort to my original refuge, the asylum of the Muses.

“ Thus have I poured into your bosom, O my gentle and friendly counsellor, my sorrows, and the reasons that weigh with me on this occasion. And I desire to be determined by your opinion with respect

to my future conduct; for it will be a mitigation of misfortune and disgrace, if any should hereafter befall me, to have acted by the advice of my friends.

“Farewell: and continue to love me, whether as your colleague at court, or your friend in retirement.”

Dated Villebon, April 30, 1611.

This prolix effusion of our author betrays some querulous vanity, and a degree of anguish under disappointment, which is inconsistent with the principles he professes. His extreme fastidiousness in receiving public honors, and his affectation of disregarding them, at the same time that he is evidently hurt when they are denied, are points unworthy of his general character. He seems to have leaned too much to an absurd system of philosophy, which requires a frigid indifference to all the usual objects of attraction to mankind. *Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret.*—“Nature, how-

e'er restrain'd, is nature still." It is plain, though he was unwilling to confess it to himself, that his mind was not insensible to the public distinctions of fame and power, obtained by honorable means.

The object of his ambition does not require defence. He failed in attaining it : and this failure was embittered by additional circumstances of an unpleasant kind. In this situation it must be allowed that disgust and chagrin would be felt by most men ; and that the expressions used in this letter, though unfit for the pen of Thuanus, are still very applicable to the occasion.

He thought himself deserted and treated with ingratitude by the great, whom he had served, and spoke the language of acute and wounded feelings. His complaints were probably not without foundation. The same government which neglected the great Sully, after King Henry's death, may be presumed capable of overlooking the services of Thuanus.

The opinions expressed in his history, were indeed offensive in many points to those in power; and his manners were perhaps unbending and without conciliation. It appears that among gay and dissipated courtiers, he was exposed to ridicule as a demure and formal lawyer, or a grave philosopher. Still Mary of Medicis must have known his merit, and cannot easily be acquitted of ingratitude, and even of a want of faith, in thus suddenly frustrating the just expectations of a zealous and tried adherent.

Our author makes the conduct of the deceased sovereign, with respect to him, a subject of complaint also. It would have been consistent with the magnanimity of a man of spirit and honor, openly to have expressed the dissatisfaction he had conceived, during the life of King Henry, rather than have waited to pour it forth until the grave had closed upon his royal master.

Henry was sometimes accused of being deficient in recompensing those who served him : and with respect to Jeannin, the friend to whom Thuanus addresses this letter, he himself frankly said, " Many of my subjects I load with wealth, to prevent them from exerting their malice, but for the President Jeannin I always say much and do little." But the King was not so remiss with regard to our author : it appears from two letters quoted above, written in 1598, that he bestowed on him some substantial marks of favor, expressly as a recompense for past services. It is true that he abandoned the cause of his history, and yielded to the efforts of its adversaries, and in this point perhaps the sovereign may be justified. As the ruler of a great kingdom, he might neither feel it a matter of inclination nor of duty to embroil the state with foreign powers on account of an individual, who gave publicity to his opinions voluntarily, for

his own private purpose, and who was perhaps imprudent in so doing.

The failure of his expectations with regard to the office of First President of the Parliament, was the most severe vexation which our author experienced from the malice of his enemies. But his real friends did not desert him at this conjuncture. Cardinal Joyeuse, a distinguished character, and a relation of his wife, and Casaubon, addressed letters to him, written in terms of affectionate attachment, and suggesting consolation on the most solid grounds.

“ A M. Le President De Thou.

“ SIR,

“ HAVING learned, since my departure from court, the result of that affair of which we have often talked; my resentment and disgust on the occasion have been equal to that affection which would have made me warmly par-

ticipate in any thing that might contribute individually to your satisfaction, and at the same time promote the public good. But since it has pleased God to order matters otherwise, you are not a person to whom it is necessary to inculcate obedience to his will, and resolution in continuing to serve your country. That country, observing your wise and upright deportment, will always acknowledge its loss to be greater than your own; for you were influenced in this business more by the wishes of others than by your own inclination, or by motives of private interest. Those frequent examples the world has had of men excluded from offices to which their merit designated them, and their behaviour under such turns of fortune; such example and such conduct we henceforth expect to copy from you.

“ At present I shall only assure you of the continuance of my affection, which particularly impels me to do you honor

and service; and I would not proceed farther on my journey without reminding you of it, and proving the desire I have to preserve your good will, and to deserve it. I commend myself to your favor, and pray God, Sir, to give you a long and happy life.

“ Your very affectionate cousin,

“ At your service,

“ The CARDINAL DE JOYEUSE.”

Marseilles, April 25, 1611.

The following interesting letter is from Isaac Casaubon to Jac. Aug. Thuanus.

“ MOST HON. PRESIDENT,

“ ALTHOUGH, from my great love and respect for you, I suddenly felt extreme concern upon hearing that a due consideration was not paid to your dignity, which your extraordinary services to your country demanded, and all good men hoped and wished; yet soon, recovering from the feeling of indignation, and reflecting

P

on the present state of things in France, I was induced, from reasons of weight in my mind, to think that this occurrence was perhaps altogether conducive to your interest: and I applied to it the ancient saying, 'Chance often provides better for us than we do for ourselves.' I confess that it is a hardship to be frustrated in that hope, which sprung not from arrogant vanity, but from a consciousness of merit; which was moreover repeatedly cherished by those, who had it in their power to avoid appearing to have trifled with the feelings of a person of gravity and consequence. But you are perfectly aware, my wise friend, that according to the condition of human things, events, which no one had supposed either would or ought to take place, oftener come to pass than those which fulfil the suggestions of sound reason. This observation holds good universally in life, but particularly in the distribution of honors, which are rather bestowed according to

the will of courtiers, than regulated by the judgment of princes themselves, who are in the power of their servants.

“ As therefore no sensible man will be surprized, in the present state of morals particularly, that any soldier's boy, cook, pander, or leader of panders, should acquire a plentiful fortune, and even the command of provinces; so neither can he wonder that the avenues to the highest dignities should be closed to men of probity, learning, and virtue, and that the rewards due to merit should be transferred to obscure and vulgar persons. Why do we complain? Why are we astonished? This is the lot and the express condition of our being: nor as long as human nature endures, will this evil be remedied. Let us bear then, my illustrious friend, let us bear with equanimity, that course of things which it is impossible to amend. Let us at the same time contemplate and adore the overruling providence of God. For while

we see the order of things moved and changed continually, as it were by chance, it is the Almighty Being, who in reality regulates all; nor does any event take place which he has not long before determined and decreed, though the footsteps of his wisdom are not known. Let us shew our detestation of the miserable counsels of wicked men, and acquiesce in humble dependence on the inscrutable wisdom of God, who disposeth every thing for the best.

“ Adorned and furnished, as you are, by Heaven itself, with so many real advantages, of which no external violence can deprive you, I sincerely think that, considering your own benefit, and not that of your country; considering your friends, your favorite studies, and your domestic convenience, you have the greatest reason to rejoice upon the present occasion. Let me ask you, can you suppose that, if you had possessed the office in question, you would have enjoyed one

tranquil day, when all your enemies would have eagerly and industriously exerted themselves to vex you; those enemies, who hate you, 'with a perfect hatred,' on account of your piety, your love of truth, and your other numerous virtues? Think you that you would have been suffered to guide the state according to the rule of your own irreproachable morals, by those men who are determined to remove, by whatever means, all who stand in opposition to their nefarious designs? I say this with more boldness, because I have lately read many books, the composition of those pests of society, full of their diabolical doctrine. I shudder to think only of the sentiments I have read, and which are inculcated as articles of faith. The fury of this party encreases daily; their audacity encreases, fostered by success. That doctrine, to which I allude, lately deprived us of our great king: yet that same doctrine, in the very city where this noble sovereign

was murdered, I may say but yesterday, has already found defenders and abettors. While all of you, who sit at the helm of state, shut your eyes to their proceedings; they, in their publications, condemn Mariana,* indeed, as far as the expression goes, but avowedly praise, not to say excuse, all the other teachers of perfidy, treason, and parricide. What times! What morals!

“ Will any man, of an honest heart then, think it a desirable thing to obtain a situation of eminence among such per-

* Mariana was a Spanish historian and a jesuit. He published a book entitled, “ Of Kings and their Authority,” in which he justified James Clement for assassinating Henry III. of France. The whole order of Jesuits were accused, though perhaps unjustly, of maintaining the doctrines of Mariana; and Papists and Protestants joined in condemning them, particularly after the atrocious act of Ravallac, who was said to have been instigated to assassinate Henry IV. by the perusal of Mariana’s book. To these circumstances Casaubon’s animated expressions allude,

sons, in which he must bear with these atrocities, and even by his silence sanction them? Plato, it is reported, used to say to his friends, as an excuse for not having attained power, that he had purposely abstained from interfering in politics, as soon as he perceived that his country was governed by laws and principles, to which he could not assimilate his notions of morality. Who can indeed struggle perpetually against a rapid stream?

“ I should entreat you, my illustrious friend, to recal to your memory these and other similar examples and precepts, if, as has happened to many great characters, you should be entirely removed from business of the state. But now what need of this? for if I have been told the truth, you are exalted by your depression, and your affairs are in a better situation than they would have been, if different events had taken place. I sincerely wish this may be the case, and pray to God that he would so ordain it.

I received two letters from you four days ago; one of them I sent to the King, and expatiated largely to him on the subject of your integrity. Sir Robert Cotton proceeds in his history, which he means to send you. I say nothing of my own concerns, for my wife will give an account of them; and I suppose, under Providence, that you will soon see her in France. Adieu."

London, April 20, 1611.

This is Thuanus's answer, written in French;

"SIR,

"I HAVE received your letter dated the 20th of last month. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the sympathy you manifest in every circumstance that affects me. If the refusal I have experienced concerned only my private injury, and did not extend to a public wrong, I should not have felt so much pain as I have.

You know that I am free from ambition and avarice, more inclined to a life of repose than to the labour of so irksome an office, by natural disposition, exclusively of the reasons deduced with so much elegance in your letter, which I confess has, amidst this public sorrow, afforded me more consolation than all the empty compliments, and lip-service, as we say, of our courtiers. For I am not a man to feed myself with airy hopes. If they will permit me to retire, and to live in domestic privacy, without injury, they cannot bestow on me any recompense so gratifying to my feelings. In a word, I am resolved to follow His will, who, by ways inscrutable to men, regulates human affairs, and governs the universe.

“ I am here in my own house, preparing for that honorable leisure with all possible content ; except that I am deprived of your company, my mild and learned friend ; I entreat you therefore, by your love for me, to write frequently and

at length: your longest letters are the most agreeable to me.

“That good man, M. Le Fevre, is dangerously ill. What affliction for me, in my present state, if it should please God to deprive me of him in your absence! I should esteem myself utterly forsaken: but we must submit every thing to the ordinance of the Almighty, who never forsakes his faithful servants.

“I wait for what his most excellent Majesty of Great Britain shall please to send me; and following your advice shall do all I can to satisfy his Majesty. I shall also pay attention to your concerns. I suppose your nephew has told you that I have taken away the keys,* because I understood at court that some intruders hovered about, whom I have thus prevented. You will find every thing in its former state when you return; and you should, in all letters to your correspond-

* Probably of his house.

ents, particularly to noblemen, throw out expectations of returning, that you may preserve in safety what you have left here. Command me, and make use of my services. My wife kisses your hands. I hope that we shall soon see your lady in good health. I now pray God, Sir, to send you his grace and health.

“ Your very humble

“ And very affectionate servant,

“ DE THOU.”

Villebon, May 7, 1611.

There are two more letters, dated in the same year, from the Cardinal Joyeuse and Casaubon, exhorting their friend not to retire entirely from all connection with public affairs, and to consider that he was born for his country, and ought not to consult his private convenience and gratification solely. In fact he never did retire, but continued in the service of the court until his death: and from some expressions in his letter to Jeannin, it may be sus-

pected that, notwithstanding his general protestations, he was not sorry to experience a renewal of kindness on the part of the Queen.

Misfortune and added years did not impair the vigour of our Author's genius, and in 1612, we find him again engaged in prosecuting his historical work. The exordium of this * continuation has been esteemed the finest writing in the whole composition. As it relates, in a great measure, to his private sentiments, a translation of it is here given; and the original is inserted in the Appendix,† as a specimen of his style.

“ Six years have elapsed since I concluded my history with the auspicious birth of that prince who now reigns by the beloved name of Lewis; and I did not then imagine that any cause would induce me to continue a work which I considered not as interrupted,

* Lib. I. 127.

† Appendix III.

but complete. I thought I had performed enough for the public curiosity, and enough for my own fame, in bringing the thread of my narration through our *more than civil wars*, down to the peace attained for all Christendom, by the courage and virtue of the great Henry. From that period scarce any thing occurs to illustrate the annals of our country: only some events of a domestic nature, chiefly of mournful import, and not to be compared with the preceding exploits.

“ Many circumstances conspired also to deter me from the attempt. I keenly felt the ungrateful recompense my laborious services in the public cause, for the glory of France, had received: and the immediate aspect of affairs, considered with reference to the past, permitted me not to form happier omens of the future; particularly since my lot was cast amongst those, whom I had originally found hostile, and from whom, therefore, if I persisted, I could expect no mercy.

“ This was the completion of all my misfortunes; that when I seriously thought of retiring, I was again carried by a contrary current against the rocks of the court, where my mind suffered continual tortures. There, I who had been accustomed to lead a tranquil life in obedience to the laws, having exchanged my service of freedom for one of real slavery, drew as it were, precarious breath, depending on the will of another. Therefore, either by the intrigues or envy of those who will not suffer me to live in privacy, an ungrateful task is forced upon me, and I have moreover a dangerous contest to fight with malice, and the hatred of powerful men; if I yield, I shall be accused of cowardice; if I persevere, of obstinate contumacy. It is not to be told, what a measure of hatred, the innocence of my past life, and my notorious love of truth have heaped upon me ; what a weight of enmity has been excited by my ingenuous freedom, and my disinclination to parade

and faction. My future performances, if humble, will be ascribed to fear; if spirited, to a desire of revenge. This will be the language of those who form the strongest party of the day : who estimate the fame and character of others, not according to reason and equity, but by their own humour and prejudices.

“ These and other similar considerations were of a nature to deter the most resolute from prosecuting any honorable design. They admonished me, broken as I was by adversity, to consult the ease suited to my time of life ; and no longer to consume my labor on a fatiguing and invidious task. But a man of patriotic mind, who always preferred what was right and honorable to emolument and his own convenience, was easily driven from his opinion, especially when the public good was at variance with his personal feelings. Some, indeed, of my friends in France, fearing for my safety, recommended retirement to me; while others, and foreigners

also, removed from peril, in Spain, Italy, Germany, Britain, Belgium, Hungary, and even as far as Bohemia, continually exhorted me by letter to pursue my undertaking, and left no arguments untried to rouse my drooping spirit, and by proposing the public advantage as my object, to revive that alacrity, of which, disgust at the ingratitude of the age had deprived me. I therefore suffered myself to be persuaded, if leisure should be granted to me, to satisfy, at the same time, to the best of my ability, the wish of my friends, and to provide for the public advantage.

“ Yet my mind was either depressed by the melancholy state of public affairs, or indolent through want of practice in composition, or gloomy from the remembrance of the cup of trouble I had drained to the dregs; and I procrastinated the matter from day to day; until an event occurred, which can only be called a prodigy; I mean the death of the great Henry, a source of lamentation not only to France, but to all the world.

“ This circumstance was of great weight in removing my hesitation. Such a prince, the especial gift of Heaven, in our deplorable times, all good men remembering his exploits, wished to survive them; and even bad men thought their safety depended on his life. The minds of all were therefore variously affected by his unmerited fate; some grieved for the private loss they had sustained; some, mindful of his great and meritorious actions, commiserated the state, not without a mixture of indignant feeling; others, fully sensible of present calamities, not without confusion and great consternation, revolved those which were still impending. For my own part, pierced with the most affectionate sorrow, I could not satisfy myself without paying, in my peculiar function, my tribute of respect to the memory of a prince, who claimed the gratitude of all Christendom.

“ Suffering myself therefore to be overcome with the same facility, that first in-

duced me to engage in a work of this magnitude, I prepared to rescue the memory of past transactions from eternal oblivion; and to perform my promise to my friends, with a mind fortified against malice and detraction, defended by the shield of conscience, and therefore without solicitude. Since the Almighty has been pleased, contrary to my hopes and my wishes (*præter spem et contra votum*) to ordain that I should survive this great King, I have resolved to dedicate what leisure I have from my service at court, to the relation of what passed during ten years, the remainder of his life; which are not comprehended in the former part of my history."

Our Author's reasons are so nicely balanced, that they seem brought forward rather to make a skilful display of argument, than for any serious purpose. The plea of writing, on account of the importunity of friends, would now be deemed affectation, and would meet with little

mercy from critics of the present day ; and even the curiosity of a treacherous amanuensis would hardly shelter a modern author from the imputation of vanity.

Thuanus did not live to complete his undertaking. The continuation of his history only extends, in eleven books, to the year 1607. He spent the remainder of his life in the service of the court, in tranquillity, and surrounded with friends whom he loved, and who respected him. His most intimate associates were Rigaltius and Peter Du Puy, who were much younger men than himself, and surviving him, became his faithful executors. Du Puy was born in 1583, and his mother was our historian's first cousin. Rigaltius was born in 1577 : his "*Funus Parasiticum*," published in 1596, first introduced him to the notice of Thuanus, who sent his carriage to convey him to Paris, and they never afterwards separated. A very pleasing picture of the familiar intercourse of these three friends

is given by Rigaltius in the life of Du Puy, whom he survived two years. " For eighteen years, (says Rigaltius,) we lived in the most strict friendship, and daily habits of intercourse with Thuanus. There was the greatest freedom of opinion ; we asked questions, and discussed subjects without reserve : but great attention was paid to the due preservation of honor and respect. Fidelity, candor, and sincerity, formed our bond of union. Du Puy formed himself upon the model of Thuanus, whom he studiously imitated in the division of his time, appropriating part of the day to public business, part to the study of ancient authors, and devoting some hours to the society of his friends. Such was the agreeable and dignified tenor of his life. Thuanus repaid his attentions with equal affection ; and in proportion as my friend and I mutually regarded each other, with encreasing friendship did that great man continue to cement this amiable union. Thus we spent some

years; and participating in all the fortunes and plans of our beloved Thuanus, whether of a joyful or melancholy nature, we were even unwilling to separate from him when he retired to his country seat of Villebon, and were always mutually desirous of the company of each other.

“Thuanus during his leisure from Parliamentary occupations, composed his history, and sometimes poems; Du Puy made observations relative to the state of the kingdom, and conducive to the public welfare; for my part, I busied myself in preparing annotations, which might serve to illustrate and restore passages in ancient authors, particularly Christian writers. An unreserved and immediate communication subsisted between us, of all valuable information acquired either by reading, or composition, and especially by conversation. Thuanus took the lead in these communications; for from the dignity of his rank and the authority he possessed, his house was every day crowded with a levee of il-

lustrious characters ; and I can truly say we always departed from him wiser and better men : so scrupulously did he weigh every thing in the scale of his severe judgement."

Heinsius, in the following verses, which are included in a long Poem, entitled "The Apotheosis of Thuanus," describes the manner of his life at his country seat :

Sæpè etiam culti libabat gaudia ruris ;
 Muscosi caput ad fontis projectus, et undæ
 Ingenuo fugientem incitans murmure somnum,
 Rostrorum oblitus trabææque, oblitus honorum.
 Nec pudor aut peponi malo subducere rorem,
 Aut vitem manibus duxisse, aut arboris altæ,
 Nec jam ultro ferrum metuentis, stringere ramum.
 Sic Divi vixere olim : sic dulcia rura
 Ipsos jam pertæsa homines Astræa colebat.
 Hic Sophie jucunda, domos diffusa per omnes,
 Constrictos vario solvebat nectare sensus :
 Seu Stagira suas argutè effunderet artes ;
 Sive animorum ortus et diæ semina mentis
 Magnus Aristocles sublimi panderet ore.
 Nonunquam et clarâ lenibat conjuge curas,
 Uanimo dulci quæ respondebat amore.

TRANSLATION.

His mind unbent from law, and splendid care,
 He oft seeks tranquil rural scenes ; and there

His careless limbs beside some fountain throws,
Whose natural murmurs lull to sweet repose.
He blushes not to train the vine's young shoot,
And brush the morning dew from ripening fruit.
Thus liv'd the Gods, ere Justice left mankind ;
Thus wisdom dwells, as her true vot'ries find.
Now commerce with the mighty dead he holds,
The Stagirite's close and learned page unfolds :
Now turns to speculations more refin'd,
High abstruse thoughts of matter and of mind.
These varying scenes his consort's charms improve,
Who meets his tenderness with answering love.

In the " *Thuana*," a small collection, which affords no great interest to the reader, are contained some particulars which perhaps may be inserted with propriety in this place. " *Thuanus* found the composition of his history a task at first very laborious, as he had never before written Latin prose : but practice gave him facility. Several men of eminence adopted a custom of assembling every sunday and holiday in the cloisters of the Cordeliers, from eight o'clock till eleven. The party consisted of the two Pithous, Du Puy, Le Fevre, *Thuanus*, Houillier, Hotman, and sometimes

Servin (advocate-general), who contributed to their merriment. They communicated letters, and other information, and it was necessary to be well grounded (*bien fondé*) to join in their conversation." "As for me," says Du Puy, who compiled the *Thuana*, "I was but a listener. They came to my house on holidays after dinner, and Scaliger often joined us. I am indebted, for all the knowledge I possess to this society." Du Puy mentions also that a sort of scholastic examination was held at Thuanus's house, of two mathematical professors, who contended for the chair of Ramus, the eminent professor, who lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. De Foix presided upon the occasion.

The most distinguished of our author's friends, mentioned above, was N. Le Fevre. The great opinion Thuanus entertained of his merit has been already * stated; and I may perhaps be excused

* See pp. 8 and 18.

for adding some few circumstances relative to so singular a character. "Le Fevre possessed," says M. de * Perrault, "two qualities, which are rarely united in the same person—a profound erudition and an extreme simplicity." When a boy, as he was mending a pen, a piece of the quill flew into his right eye; and, putting up his hand in consequence of the pain, he inadvertently thrust the pen-knife into it. The result of this painful accident was the loss of that eye; but the sight of the other seemed to gain additional power. He was gifted with a most tenacious memory, and lived to amass an astonishing store of erudition; and almost all the learned men, who were his contemporaries, bear witness to his piety, learning, and mild and inoffensive disposition. Being pressed, when young, by a friend, to make some advances towards an advantageous marriage, he replied, "I wish I may be as firm in all my good resolu-

* *Eloges des Hommes Illustres.*

tions through life, as I am in the determination of never marrying." He persevered in this resolve, and devoted himself to a course of uninterrupted study. His biographer, M. Le Begue, relates this particularity in his manner of life :—" After waking from his first sleep, he regularly left his bed, and, wrapping a monk's hood round his head, in winter, employed two hours in prayer and reading. He then enjoyed a light sleep, and arose again, in summer, with the dawn of day, and in winter at five or six o'clock." M. de Begue continues, " Obnoxious to no set of men, Le Fevre attacked no person—he was attacked by none ; and being always moderate in disputes concerning matters of religion or literature, he was beloved and caressed, not only by men of piety and learning, but by nobles and courtiers."

Peter * Pithou, having left unfinished at his death a collection of the historical fragments of St. Hilary, a bishop of

* See page 80.

Poitiers, who lived in the fourth century; Le Fevre undertook to complete the work, and published it with a dedication to Thuanus. "This work (these are his words) cannot but be acceptable to you, illustrious President, who are skilled in all the modes of discipline; who are so devotedly attached to the safety and honor of France, and a zealous admirer of primitive piety and faith. It cannot but be most grateful to your feelings to have rescued, by your authority, from a long obscurity, and brought to light this work, the production of an antient French writer, the most celebrated and eloquent of all the Theologians who have adorned the western empire; the lofty tree, as St. Jerome calls him, by which the edifice of the Church of God has been raised, and who was also a most intrepid champion of the faith."

We have already seen that Thuanus promoted, with great assiduity, every design that could tend to the advancement of literature. Some letters from Daniel

Heinsius, in which he refers to an edition he is preparing of George Cassander's works, and a paraphrase of Aristotle's Politics, afford a farther proof of our Author's zeal on this subject. He paid great attention to a plan proposed by some * Maronites for instituting a college at Paris, which might prepare religious books and educate missionaries, with a design of propagating Christianity in certain parts of Asia and Africa; and, from a passage in the forty-first book of his history, it appears that, in consequence of his exertions, the only copy extant in Europe of the Ecclesiastical History of Nicephorus was transmitted from Germany to France, and there translated,

But our Historian especially promoted the cause of letters by furnishing a library, which, in the points of magnificence and judicious selection, has, perhaps, never

* The Maronites, so called from Maron their founder, inhabited the country about Mount Lebanon. They were Monothelites.

been surpassed by any private collection. It was called the Parnassus of the Muses, and was so celebrated that it has been said, those who had not seen the library of Thuanus, had not seen Paris. He was employed forty years in making this collection, which consisted of eight thousand volumes. This must have been an ample number at that period of time, and they were of the most rare and excellent kind, procured throughout Europe at an immense expense, and all bound in a sumptuous manner. There were besides, about a thousand manuscripts of great value.

Henry Stephens, the great printer, and lexicographer, writing to Thuanus, makes an allusion to the ridicule which Lucian casts upon some person who bought a great number of books, but at the same time was not competent to understand their contents. "The satyrist," he adds, "would have honoured you, illustrious President, who, being so versed in every science, have eagerly and diligently em-

ployed yourself in accumulating books from all parts, and have spared no expense in storing your library with the works of all authors, particularly those in the Greek and Latin languages. You exercise great judgment, also, in the choice of printed editions; and, in proportion to the cost of any copy, the more sumptuous is the binding you allot to it. Lucian would, I imagine, have praised your care in this respect. For my part, I am not only desirous of praising your ardent wish of continually adding to your library; but I should be proud likewise to contribute to its accomplishment."

In this library Thuanus received the visits of learned men with affability and politeness; and, with that liberality of mind which a genuine love of literature inspires, freely opened the treasures of his collection to all, who were likely to promote the general interests of science and polite learning. "At Thuanus's house," says Du Puy, "there were regular meetings of the literati of the time; men of

rank and erudition were admitted from the city, from the provinces, and from foreign countries; and the discourse turned upon all occurrences worthy of notice, whether of a public or domestic nature, or relating to some novel intelligence from abroad."

It has been already stated that our Author, upon the death of M. Amyot, was appointed to the vacant office of Royal Librarian. "This famous library," says M. Perrault, "the finest in the world, after that of the Vatican, was never committed to the care of a more worthy person: and on this occasion it both received and conferred honor. This repository of literature became more than ever the rendezvous of the most conspicuous characters, who united science and learning with virtue; and under his management afforded particular gratification, as well by concentrating the society of scholars, who came thither to confer on every branch of knowledge, as by the opportunity it supplied of consulting the best dead authors."

At the recommendation of Thuanus, Casaubon, and after him Rigaltius, were appointed under-librarians. The following short account of the formation of this collection by the different Kings of France, may be acceptable to the reader. It is extracted from a treatise, by Father Jacob, "On the Finest Libraries," printed at Paris, in 1644.

"Charlemagne was the first French King who collected a library, at Aix la Chapelle, and at Lyons. About the year 1400, Charles V. founded the present magnificent Royal Library, at Fontainebleau. Charles VI. his son, brought this library to the Louvre, and made additions to it. Some instruments are still to be seen which relate to the librarian's office, dated 1412.

"Lewis XI. borrowed a book from the Schools of Medicine upon the pledge of a silver vessel.

"The final establishment of the Royal Library is due to Francis I. who employed learned men and professors to

collect books in all languages. He replaced the library at Fontainebleau, and had his books superbly bound.

“Catherine of Medicis brought with her to Hen. II. the manuscripts of the celebrated Medicean Library. She was a patroness of learning.

“Henry IV. in 1594, had all this Queen’s collection added to the Royal Library, and appointed Thuanus librarian. They thus remained as goods of the crown, and the greater part were sumptuously bound in crimson Morocco, the expense of which was defrayed from the rents of the expelled Jesuits.

“Two copies of every book printed in France are deposited in the Royal Library; * persons are appointed to collect the best books printed throughout Europe.”

From the preceding statement, it is evident that the close of our Author’s life was consistent with the beginning of it: he

* A similar deposit is made in the King of England’s library.

preserved the same purity of conduct, and the same attachment to learning. The uncorrupt and ardent spirit of patriotism, which had led him, in the earlier part of his life, resolutely to brave the loss of fortune, and death itself, in the service of his country, now remained undiminished, in spite of personal mortifications, and the ingratitude of those whom his public conduct had obliged. The testimony of an approving conscience was his reward; and his time passed, as we have seen, in an agreeable variety of occupations, divided between the engagements of his office as one of the directors of finance, his books, his friends, and in the bosom of a rising family. His reputation and fame were established on firm grounds; and he possessed an affluent fortune.

The Cardinal Joyeuse died in 1615. Upon his death-bed he wrote an affecting letter, addressed jointly to Thuanus and his wife, naming them his executors: it is dated Avignon, Aug. 23d.

Heinsius, who appears to have entertained a most sincere respect for our Author, though personally unacquainted with him, and whose letters are the most elegant in the collection, wrote to him this year a letter, dated the Hague, September 6, which contains the following compliment :

“ An age will, without doubt, arrive, in which an unbiassed judgment will be formed of our times ; which will scrutinize our writings without partiality, which will attribute all that weight to truth, which now attaches to personal influence. An appeal to this judgment belongs only to those who now have to struggle against envy, which attacks not vulgar souls while living, and cannot taint the memory of the great when dead. For my part, when I reflect on your character, and that greatness of mind which you possess, and which posterity will behold interwoven, as in an attic veil, in that splendid monument you have raised

(I mean your history), I declare I would willingly take to myself the envy of all who are now enemies of truth, provided I could share the hundredth part of that praise which the friends of truth owe to you, and will continue to owe as long as any regard for that virtue shall exist in the world. If the Almighty does not mean to visit mankind in wrath, believe me, there will always be persons who will be disgusted with the hypocritical and fallacious statements of the times, and will admire the more the contrast formed by your incorruptible fidelity. They will see that neither the general schism in religion, nor the particular prejudices of opinion to which we are all subject by birth and education, (and which are a heavy burden and yoke, that not one man in a thousand extricates himself from, even so far as to be able to form a right judgment of his neighbour), they will see that neither these circumstances, nor the authority of princes have cast any

cloud before your eyes, which might have prevented your discerning the truth; and that you have not been impressed by them with any fear or apprehension, but have boldly expressed the sentiments which you judiciously conceived."

The year 1616 was attended with the most melancholy events to Thuanus, both of a public and of a domestic nature.

"Mary de Medicis, who governed the kingdom during the minority of her son, Lewis XIII., was entirely guided by the opinion of Concini, an Italian of low origin. She created him Marquis d'Ancre, and all the honours and emoluments of the state were at his disposal, and that of his wife; who possessed such unlimited influence over the Queen's mind, that she was considered by the populace as a sorceress. General discontents arose throughout the country in consequence of the bad administration of affairs, and insurrections took place in many parts. The Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bouillon,

and other nobles retired from court, and assembled troops with the avowed design of obtaining a change in the King's councils, and the Protestants joined them.

Many conferences were held for the purpose of restoring tranquillity and preventing civil war, and articles of peace were at last signed and ratified at Loudun. Thuanus was one of the commissioners on the occasion; and a long letter is extant written by him from that place to his friend Thumeri. That he was not very favourable to the Queen's ministers may be gathered from the appellations he assigns to them: he calls Villeroi "The Debtor," on the supposition that he had in a great measure occasioned the war, and therefore peace was a debt he owed the nation. He styles the Chancellor Sillery, "A Fox;" and the Marshal d'Ancre's wife, "Canidia." He complains in this letter of an indisposition which had affected him for nine months, and of being tormented with frequent

attacks of cholic pains; and, notwithstanding the ratification of peace, he argues gloomily of the state of the country.

The joining with these commissioners was the last public act of our Author's life, and is particularly congenial to his character, which always led him to promote peace. The restoration of national tranquillity seemed not then to rest on very secure grounds, and this thought occasioned him to feel great and serious disquietude. Shortly after the conference at Loudun, he was doomed to experience a domestic calamity of the severest kind, in the loss of his second wife, who died in the thirty-ninth year of her age, after having been united to him fourteen years. On this mournful occasion a letter, in Latin, was addressed to him by Daniel Heinsius, which, though the language is in some places, perhaps, too poetical, is not unworthy to be compared with the celebrated letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero

on the death of his daughter Tullia. A comparison of these two compositions with each other will also shew how much superior and more solid are the grounds of consolation in affliction, which our religion presents, to those with which unassisted reason furnished the ancients. The heathen reasons in this manner:—“Every thing on earth partakes of a fragile and perishable condition; and great cities and empires themselves are subject to dissolution. What, therefore, is man, that he should grieve because he and those who are dear to him are not exempt from the common lot of mortality?” On the other hand, the Christian, in addition to such arguments as these, comforts his friend, by assuring him that she whom he loved has attained a state of happiness not subject to interruption or decay; and that he himself may hereafter both witness and participate this happiness.

Heinsius begins the letter, to which I am alluding, by stating, that he had heard,

from common report, of the great loss sustained by Thuanus, who filled so distinguished a situation, that every event which occurred to him was soon notorious, even in foreign countries. He reminds him that posterity, viewing his works with admiration and delight, would be desirous of knowing the character of the author himself, and whether or not he endured affliction with fortitude.

He confesses, when he first received the information that so great a misfortune had befallen a person whom he had long considered an object of the highest veneration, he was struck with sorrow and dejection. He could not but reflect upon the general happiness promoted among mankind by the conjugal union, which is so congenial and so necessary to their condition. He reflected on the particular circumstances of the present case, viz. that Thuanus was returning home from a troublesome commission, feeble in body

and depressed in mind, anxious to seek relief in the tender attentions of his wife, and in the suggestions of her mature judgment. The society of his children, too, formerly a source of the highest pleasure, would now only revive the sad recollection of their mother.

Heinsius, by this preamble, appears desirous of shewing that he sensibly felt the whole extent of his friend's misfortune. He then proceeds: "After indulging in these reflections (for I never have approved that iron-hearted wisdom of the Stoics), I began on the other hand to consider your character." He considered that Thuannus had imbibed, "with his milk," those precepts which inculcate a contempt of life and of the inconstancy of fortune; that "after the completion of his early studies, he had been conversant, not only with books, but with men and manners, and all the vicissitudes of life, in the court and in the

senate," He knew him to have been born in a country, the people of which excel in talents, learning and judgment; in a country, that had for the greater part of a century, been exposed to the most dreadful civil wars, of which religion was the pretext, and ambition the cause. He knew him to have been an eye-witness of too many of these contests, commotions, and massacres. "Turn your eyes," he suddenly exclaims, "to that period when the empire itself was widowed and desolate, in consequence of the loss of the great Henry, the delight not of one nation only, but of mankind; who in one and the same instant of time was the favourite of fortune and a corpse. Think of the towns, lands, and possessions, which have been laid waste, and torn from the proprietors! think of the men of principle who have resigned, or have been driven from, their condition in society; lastly of your country itself, which lay a spoil and prey at the feet of the contending

parties, and is still agitated, like the sea after a storm. If amidst these surrounding calamities, you have only to lament your present loss, truly you are more fortunate than many others. You have indeed experienced the greatest of domestic afflictions in the loss of your wife ; but it is nevertheless a misfortune, to which all are exposed, and which in fact many in the single city of Paris must daily suffer. Alas ! how many lose their country ! How many eminent and virtuous characters, and of equal rank with yourself have been expelled by an ungrateful country, which forgot their services !

“ I will not adduce examples from Plutarch, Livy, and Xenophon. Thuanus, in his admirable memoirs of the times, affords me sufficient examples. I do not speak of the Scipios, the Coriolani, the Camilli, but of those illustrious characters whom you have immortalized. For instance, that great man De L'Hopital, if he could rise from the peaceful grave, might

be imagined to address you, by whose labors he still survives, and to exhort you by his own example. ‘ You have lost,’ thus he might say, ‘ an admirable wife, and worthy of yourself. Does this then appear to you an uncommon event? Have you no consideration for the state, eminent as you are, and so important a member of it? If your country is safe, let that be your consolation : if it is destroyed and extinct, the extent of your loss is diminished.” Imagine that in similar language, all the celebrated and excellent men who now survive, entreat you to be reconciled to God, to your country, to your books, especially your own immortal works, and lastly to yourself. You may indeed reflect that you are deprived of a consort of extraordinary merit, the delight of your life; but when you have thus considered, add that you are a man born to eminence, an example of learning and wisdom. Think then, what she has lost; —nothing but what is most painful to you

and all good men, a country, the prosperity of which is declining : think what she has gained ; a life exposed to no misfortune, a kingdom torn by no factions, governed by one king immortal and eternal ; the company of the holy angels, of the blessed Martyrs, of Jesus Christ. You aspire to this happiness yourself : do not therefore grieve that she enjoys it before you.

“The world has seen in you a model of candor, generosity, erudition ; it now expects a lesson of fortitude.”

Amsterdam, August, 1616.

Soon after the death of his wife, Thuanus made his will :*

“ In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity.”

He begins by stating that the death of his wife, younger than himself, admonishes him, the greatest of sinners, to think seriously of his own.

* The original will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.

He first thanks God that he was born of religious parents, and that he has been brought up in the true faith of Christ, by which alone salvation can be obtained.

He professes that he has lived in this faith, and prays for the grace of the Holy Spirit that he may die in the same, and be immediately received into Abraham's bosom.

He appoints guardians to his children.

He wishes his goods and costly furniture not to be sold, but divided among his heirs.

His valuable library, the collection of forty years, he forbids to be sold; but leaves it to his sons, for their use, and that of the literary world. And until they grow up, commits it to the care of Peter Du Puy.

He requests the same friend, in conjunction with Nicholas Rigaltius, to watch over their education.

He leaves to their care also the prepared edition of his history; and all his other compositions.

He requests his wife's sisters to take part in superintending the education of his children; and particularly to pay attention to the daughters, whether in marrying them, or giving them the veil, which he forbids to be done before the legal age, or by constraint.

He desires to be buried near his wife, whom he says, " he can never name without expressions of honor, and a sense of the bitterest sorrow."

These are the concluding words of the will: " I, James Augustus Thuanus, being of sound health, but like a Christian, intent upon the thoughts of death, as if it were just approaching, have written and subscribed this with my own hand. Done in the house of the illustrious Achilles du Harlay, formerly the most worthy President of the Parliament, my sister's husband: whither I had retired, for the benefit and comfort of solitude, under my present affliction."

Dated July 13, 1616.

Though Thuanus here describes himself to be in good health, yet the vigour of his constitution seems to have been impaired, by the shocks he had experienced which affected his mind, rather than by a natural decay. He shortly fell into a lingering and fatal illness ; which his physician Renaulme de Blois, describes to have been occasioned by an obstruction that had been forming in the liver for some years, and impeded digestion. His studious and sedentary habits, and depression of spirits, encreased the disorder of his stomach, and produced scirrhus tumours. The glands were hardened, and refused to perform their functions, and the patient was thrown into a fever, and subject to acute pains ; the paroxysms of which were so severe, as to deprive him in some measure of his natural patience and resolution.

The faculties of his mind must have remained unimpaired to the last ; for the following Iambic verses are dated on the day of his death, which took place May 7,

1617, ten months after the death of his wife:

Vigesimus præterijt et centesimus
Dies, reclini corpore ex quo in cellulâ
Humili recumbo, sternor aut supra torum ;
Tandemque planè clinicus jaceo domi,
Inter dolores languidum corpus trahens,
Pejor priore semper et sequens fuit.
Tentata, te monente, nequicquam omnia,
Amice Thumeri, debeo cui vitam hactenus,
Asclepiadum cessit in vanum labor ;
Frustra rogatus et bonus Renealmius
Peculiaris abdita artis pandere,
Stertit profundum nocte, dum crucior miser.
Quid jam àmplius moramur in terrestribus
Graviora morbo et experimur remedia ?
Tentanda cælo per pias preces via :
Nec vita tanti est, tamdiù, ut vivas, mori.

“ A hundred and twenty days have now passed, since I have been stretched in a recumbent posture, either on a low couch, or on my bed. I am now quite unable to rise through languor; and as I thus drag on my existence in pain, every day is worse than the preceding. By your advice, my beloved Thumeri, to whom I hitherto

owe my life, all remedies have been tried in vain: in vain has the good Renaulm been solicited to employ the more mysterious powers of his art. He sleeps profoundly, while I alas ! pass the nights in torment. Why should I linger still upon earth, and continue to try remedies, which are worse than the disease? Rather let me strive by pious prayers to attain Heaven: that life, which approaches to the likeness of death, is not worth preserving."

Rigaltius, in the life of Du Puy, has this passage: "Times arose pregnant with opinions, equally defective in sense and probity, and indiscriminately applied to good and evil. This caused disgust and chagrin to Thuanus, who was always impatient of the attacks of calumny and malice. Scarce arrived at old age, as yet firm in mental and bodily vigor, a burden to none but himself, he was overpowered by the additional affliction caused by his wife's death, and died,

ten months after her, of a scirrhus tumour in the stomach, which turned to a gangrene."

Du Puy in a letter to Camden, dated June 28th, 1617, says "His mind is so depressed by the death of Thuanus, that solitude alone is acceptable to him. Alas! he is gone, the luminary of France and of Europe, whose breast was the seat of candor, probity, and erudition." In the zeal of friendship, he adds, "Now nothing but barbarism is left, particularly in our country, where we are slaves to fallacious appearances, and neglect, and even despise true merit." Camden says "that the history is encreasing in reputation in England, and that his copy of it is scarcely ever at home." He sends some verses composed on the occasion of his friend's death, though he describes himself as "not born a favorite of the Muses (*Musis aridentibus.*)" Other learned men in different parts of Europe paid similar tributes of respect to our Author's memory,

and besides Camden's, there are verses written by Raphael Thorius, Salmasius, and Heinsius; and a Greek idyl, in the Doric dialect, the author of which is not named. The poem of Heinsius, entitled the "Apotheosis of Thuanus," is the best in the collection, but is too long to be inserted. It opens with an account that Thuanus, immediately after his death, was transported to Olympus :

Quò postquam maxima rerum
Quæ nunc sidereos inter Dea volvitur axes,
Justitia aspexit venientem, occurrit, et omnem
Splendore insolito assurgens implevit Olympum.

Justice, first of created things, who there
Presides a Goddess, 'mid the heav'nly sphere,
Arose to meet her fav'rite, while around,
Unusual splendor fill'd Olympus' bound.

Religion and Liberty greet his arrival :

Stabant et casto, Juvoni sua gaudia, Musæ,
Non quas Pindus alit, nec quas Parnassia rupe;
Sed quales Solyme, magnarum conscia rerum,
Ante omnes, gremioque suo produxit Idume.

The Muse was there, who first inspir'd his youth,
 Not from Parnassus, but allied to truth,
 Holy and pure, from Solyma she came ;
 Sacred her theme, and touch'd with heav'nly flame.

The Poet turns to a description of Thuanus's character and the honorable avocations of his life, which we have already had occasion to quote in part:

*Quæcunque ævo memoranda priori,
 Et præsens defuncta malis ingentibus ætas
 Pertulit, aut fati domitrix dedit ignea Virtus,
 Laudum argumenta magnarum, et grandia cœpta,
 Mandabat chartis ; seque intexebat et illis.*

The memorable deeds of former times,
 And those, which, struggling thro' a mass of crimes,
 The present age, superior to its fate,
 Achiev'd, with Virtue's ardent power elate ;
 These themes of mighty import he recites,
 And his own merits shine forth, as he writes.

The poem finishes with allusions to the happiness which the subject of it enjoys in his everlasting abode.

The two executors our Author named in his will, were faithful and vigilant in

discharging the trust committed to them, both in regard to the care of his writings and of his family. Before we enter into a detail of circumstances relative to the posthumous publication of his history, or an examination of its general merits, it may be proper to give a brief account of our Author's family and of the fate of his library.

Thuanus left six children, three sons and three daughters, the eldest of whom was not more than ten years of age. The daughters, when arrived at maturity, married into respectable families.

Francis Augustus, the eldest son, applied to the study of the law, and rose to be a Counsellor of State, and Master of the Requests. Unfortunately he became privy to the conspiracy against the State, which M. de Cinq Mars, in concert with the Dukes d'Orleans and de Bouillon, Princes of the blood, projected in 1642. The plot, though in reality directed against the exorbitant and invidious power of Car-

dinal Richelieu, amounted to high treason; and young Thuanus, being treated as an accomplice in it, was beheaded at Lyons, September 12th, 1642. He was in his 36th year, and suffered with great fortitude.

It has been asserted, perhaps without sufficient grounds, that Richelieu instigated this act of severity, in revenge of an unfavorable but just character of his uncle, which had appeared in the history of Thuanus.

Voltaire speaks of this transaction in the following* terms: "Thuanus, who was only accused of having known the conspiracy, and who had disapproved of it, was condemned to death, because he had not revealed it. In vain he represented that it was impossible for him to have proved his deposition; and that if he had accused the King's brother of high treason, without being able to prove the

* See his *Mœurs*, Vol. 4, p. 121.

crime, he should have deserved death much more. This clear justification was not admitted by the Cardinal, who was his personal enemy. The Judges condemned him by virtue of a law made by Lewis XIth, whose name alone is sufficient to shew that the law was cruel."

Huygens, father of the great mathematician and astronomer, made the following distich upon this young man's punishment:

O Legum subtile nefas, quibus inter amicos
Nolle fidem frustra prodere, proditio est.

The play of words is not translatable, but the thought is: "How unjust is the subtilty of those laws, which make it treason in a man, not to commit a useless breach of faith towards his friend."

Achilles Augustus, the second son of our Historian, was a Counsellor in the Parliament of Bretany, and died in 1635.

James Augustus, the youngest son, named after his father, died in 1677, aged

69. He made additions to his father's library, as Du Puy had also done during the minority of the children, and imitated his attentions to learned men, who continued their meetings at his house. He went ambassador to the Hague from Lewis XIV. in 1661, and seems to have behaved with great spirit there in a dispute with the Spanish ambassador. Living abroad in a style of great splendor, which he thought necessary in order to support the dignity of his Court, he injured his fortune. In order to defray his debts, he was induced, with great regret, to make a proposal of selling the library, that had belonged to his father, to the King, for the use of the Dauphin. This proposal was made through the intervention of the learned Huet, Bishop of Avranches, who was preceptor, under Bossuet, to the Dauphin; but, the offer being declined on the part of the King, this magnificent collection came to public sale after the death of the owner.

After this event a catalogue of the books, digested by James and Peter Du Puy, was published by Joseph Quesnel, a librarian at Paris, in 1679. In a preface to it, he expatiates on the great care and expense that had attended the forming of this collection, and particularly adds that the charge of fitting it up alone, (*ad solam compactionem*,) had amounted to the sum of 20,000 crowns, about four thousand pounds.

A letter from Grævius, dated May 7th, 1680, alludes to the sale; and it is added, that the books were disposed of, for less money than the bindings of them had cost Thuanus.

The Bishop of Avranches mentioned above, in his commentaries, published in 1718, confirms this statement. He says, that the library was sold to satisfy the demands of the ambassador's creditors; and that though 100,000 livres had been expended upon the arrangement and de-

curation of the books, (in compingendis et concinnè ac sumptuosè convestiendis libris) they did not produce one third part of that sum.

The following passage is taken from "Melanges de Litterature," by M. de Vigneul-Mville, vol. 1, p. 26. Ed. Paris, 1725.

"The family of Thuanus and the Curators of his library, went to the expense of having one copy or more of every valuable work published in Europe, printed on particularly fine paper made for the purpose ; and they sometimes selected the choicest leaves from two or three different copies or editions. The President Menars, and after him the Cardinal de Rohan, purchased the collection, that it might still be preserved entire."

Buckley, whose edition of Thuanus has been so often referred to, has added this information upon the present subject, viz. that the Minister Colbert bought the ma-

nuscripts, which, in the year 1730, were purchased and deposited in the King's Library at Paris.

Unfortunately for the interests of literature, the library of Thuanus has probably long since been dispersed, and if not destroyed, exists no more as an uniform collection. The last of his descendants whom I find mentioned, was an Abbé, son of the ambassador, who was living at Paris at the time of the publication of Buckley's edition. He bore the name of his father and grandfather, James Augustus; and in his person apparently terminated the family of Thuanus, which, though distinguished through a long line of genealogy, has received the brightest ornament of its reputation from the pen of our Historian.

Thuanus was buried at Paris, in the chapel belonging to his family in the church of St. Andrew of the Arches; a monument between those of his two wives, was erected to him, with this inscription :

“ Jacobo Augusto Thuano Christophori filio, in regni conciliis assessori ; amplissimi Senatûs Præsidi ; literarum, quæ res divinas & humanas amplectuntur, magno bonorum & eruditorum consensu, peritissimo ; variis legationibus summâ sinceritate ac probitate functo ; viris principibus ævo suo laudatissimis eximiè culto ; Historiarum scriptori, quod ipsæ passim loquuntur, celeberrimo ; Christianæ pietatis antiquæ retinentissimo.

Vixit annos 63,

Menses 6, dies 29.

Obiit Lutetiæ Parisiorum

Nonis Maii, 1617.

Parcissimè censuisse videtur, qui tali viro sæculum defuisse dixit.

“ To the Memory of James Augustus Thuanus, son of Christopher ; one of the King's Privy Counsellors ; President à Mortier in the Parliament of Paris ; a profound Theologian and Scholar, in the estimation of worthy and learned men ; successfully employed in various public

commissions, and with the highest reputation for sincerity and probity; caressed by those men in power who bore the best character in his time; the author of a history, whose merit is so well known as to need no praise; and firmly attached to the primitive Christian faith. He lived 63 years, six months, 29 days; and died at Paris, May 7th, 1617. It appears to be a very inadequate eulogy, to affirm that he was superior to the age in which he lived."

Our Author's character bears considerable resemblance in many points to that of Lord Clarendon; and there is a remarkable coincidence in many leading circumstances of their lives. Each was born of a good family, and raised himself by merit to a station of the highest dignity in the legal profession: each was the object of his widowed mother's partial affection, and indebted to her bounty for an early establishment in life. Both, in tempestuous times, were firm adherents to the Crown, and confidential ministers to two

sovereigns; both experienced an unjust reverse of favor, and were exposed to the aspersions and ridicule of dissipated and licentious courts. Lastly, each composed a history of his own times, in a style of singular candor and moderation.

The parallel between these two illustrious characters might be farther extended to their exemplary moral and religious habits. Thuanus was accused by the Papists of his time, of inclining to Protestantism: and the author of his epitaph thinks it necessary to say that he adhered firmly "to the ancient Christian faith." Ancient is a very moderate word, if applied by a member of the church of Rome, to his own establishment; and proves that the Protestants had begun to obtain some consideration and respect. But it is very probable that the word "ancient," is here meant to refer to the primitive, Apostolic usages.

From the attention our Author employed to procure a republication of Occam's Works, from many passages in his his-

tory, and from the opposition he invariably-made to the Papal claim of dominion over the church and kingdom of France, it is evident, that he did not assent to the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility and supremacy in temporal things. This fact is farther proved, by a preface written by Le Fevre to Thuanus's History of the Council of Trent, published separately from his great work. Le Fevre, addressing his friend, says, "You wish to know what opinion is to be formed of the Council of Trent, the authority of which we have for forty years hesitated to admit. I know that you are attached to all the articles of primitive faith ; and therefore, your difficulty must lie with regard to the use of the keys, the dispensation of benefices, the morals of ecclesiastics, the power of the court of Rome, and other matters of this kind, which the council has determined upon." Le Fevre is too prudent to express his own opinion, but the passage ascertains our Author's doubts

It is also evident that Thuanus disapproved persecution, and did not believe that those who dissented from the Church of Rome were excluded from all hope of salvation.

These two tenets, of the Papal infallibility, and of the final perdition of all who are not of the Romish Communion, have, perhaps, never been strongly maintained by sensible and humane Romanists. They, indeed, bear no relation to the Gospel of Christ; but it must be allowed that they are powerful instruments to sway the minds of the multitude, and have actually been at the root of the most dreadful tumults and excesses.

If Thuanus was not a good Papist, we may be allowed to call him a good Christian; for his sincerity in religion cannot be doubted by those who attend to the language he uses. It is probable that he saw many errors in the Church of Rome, and wished that it might silently reform the abuses that had crept into it, and thus obviate schism and contention.

His political principles were of the purest kind. Fortune, dignity, life itself, were never by him put in competition with his duty and the suggestions of his conscience. The imbecility of King Henry III. did not make him desert his cause in difficulty, nor was he detached from it by the inviting smiles and professions of the Duke of Guise. Yet was his service given more to his country than to the monarch. He always maintained the independence of the parliament; and, in a memorable passage of his preface, exhorts the amiable Henry IV. to remember "that Frenchmen were all servants of the laws, in order that they might be free."

Learned himself, he was a munificent patron of literature; and, by his lavish praises of scholars, seems to have entertained a predilection for polite learning, above any other attainment. His talents, if not of the first-rate, were directed to the best purposes, with sound judgment and unwearied application.

His conduct, in private life, was most amiable and attractive. We may wish for more familiar and minute particulars and anecdotes of his manners and disposition ; but it is sufficiently evident that he was without any disguise or concealment, of great simplicity, plain, sincere, and affectionate. He was a tender husband and a provident father ; and it is pleasing to observe, from his will, that he would not have his daughters forced to take the veil against their inclinations.

Those who wish to be acquainted with the shades of our Author's character, will perhaps discover that he felt a too great consciousness of his own merit, which made the gravity of his manners appear formal and unbending, and sometimes degenerated into expressions of vanity and pride. Though in most respects superior to the idle prejudices of the age in which he lived, he was a believer in omens and presages ; and the following singular instance is recorded of his unsuspecting credulity :

In the reign of King Henry II. it was reported that an Indian came to Paris, bringing with him a wonderful stone, which is thus described (in Latin) by Fernelius, a gentleman who was about the court at that time: "The stone shines with the splendor of light itself, and, darting its rays around, fills the air with its beams. Leaving the earth, it leaps spontaneously upwards. It cannot be restrained, but requires a free and ample space; it has the greatest purity and brightness, and retains no dirt or pollution. It has no fixed form, but frequently changes its appearance. It is unsafe to handle; but is useful, and even necessary for many purposes of life." This fanciful description, which is an enigma, signifying *fire*, deceived Thuanus, and he had the misfortune to insert in his history some incidental account of the supposed rarity; but the passage was afterwards expunged.

To be gratified with the incense of flattery is so general a tendency of human

nature, that it can hardly be ascribed as a peculiar failing to Thuanus.

His weaknesses never amounted to vice; but the energy he possessed was all employed on the side of virtue. So severe and nice were his principles, that he seems unwilling to allow that he regarded in any action the praise even of good and wise men; but endeavoured to regulate his whole conduct upon religious motives.

He was uniform and consistent in the practice of virtue; and was one of the few * “ of whom to record the truth is their best praise.” The words which Tacitus applies to the expression of Agricola’s countenance, may, with some propriety, be adopted in summing up the general character of Thuanus, “ Bonum virum facile dixeris, magnum libenter:” “ You pronounce him without hesitation to have been a good man; you feel willing to rank him among the great.”

* Sir W. Forbes’s Life of Beattie, Vol. 2, p. 342.

ON THE
HISTORY OF THUANUS.

WE have already had occasion to observe, that our Author, himself, published eighty books of his history at different times. The first publication was in folio, from the widow *Patisson's press at Paris; it came forth in 1604, and contained the preface, and a narration of events from the year 1546 to 1560, in eighteen books.

This work was, in a second edition, divided into twenty-six books: and, in 1606, twenty-three additional books were published from the press of two brothers, named Drouart, which brought the history down to the year 1572.

Thuanus continued to publish additions to his history in 1607 and 1609, when it

* She was a daughter of the celebrated Robert Stephens.

was completed to the year 1584, in eighty books, and formed four volumes in folio, from the press of Drouart.

This portion of the work was also printed in 8vo and 12mo at Frankfort and at Paris, during the Author's lifetime.

On account of the violent clamour raised by the Papists and Jesuits against the history, which we have noticed in the account of his life, he never ventured to publish more than these eighty books; but was engaged in revising them again for the press, when death put a period to his labors, in 1617. One volume only of this new edition was completed and printed by Robert Stephens (son of the celebrated author of the Thesaurus), who published it at Paris, in 1618, with a preface of his own, in which he notes some errors of the Frankfort printers, and employs many Latin phrases to stigmatize them as * "obstinate blockheads." Ste-

* Is fuit præduri capitis stupor, ut pervicaciter obsurderit, &c.

phens's preface alludes also to a design of publishing the whole history, "when the truth should no longer be unpalatable."

In 1619 the eighty books were again edited at Paris, in duodecimo; and no part of the original work has since been printed in France.

Thuanus, by his will, left a copy of his entire history prepared for the press, (*paratam editionem*), to the care of Du Puy and Rigaltius, in case he died before it should be published; and he requests them to consult with two brothers of the name of St. Marthe on the subject, who, he says, had already rendered him material assistance. Our Author was happy in the choice of his friends, for they seem to have executed the trust reposed in them with equal fidelity, zeal, and judgment. From the odium the first part of the work had incurred, and the power which those who condemned it possessed, its publication was an undertaking of no

small difficulty, and required very delicate management.

The executors found they could not print the MS. at Paris; and, therefore, concealing any share they had in the transaction, they privately sent it to Lingelshiem, at Geneva, with whose attachment to our Author the reader has been already made acquainted. Lingelshiem superintended the printing of the work at the Geneva press; and, in order still farther to screen Rigaltius and Du Fuy, he published it with a preface, which states that he had in vain waited for an edition of Thuanus's history from the hands of his executors, and therefore determined to publish a copy transmitted to him from the Author. As if these precautions were insufficient, it was thought expedient to dissemble the real name of the place from whence the work issued, and Orleans was substituted instead of Geneva, as may be now seen in the title page of the first editions. This project is disclosed

by Lingelsheim to Hugo Grotius, in a letter dated Heidelberg, 1618.

Under all these disadvantages, the History of Thuanus, complete in one hundred and thirty-eight books, was first published in 1620, together with the addition of six books of memoirs of his life.

Though the executors thought it imprudent openly to appear concerned in this affair, they were by no means forgetful of the obligation incumbent upon them to fulfil the wishes of their deceased friend; but were vigilant in discharging it to the utmost of their power. They possessed an autograph of the history; and each separately compared the Geneva edition with this manuscript, and made his own remarks, corrections and additions. Their labour and attention did not cease at this point: Du Puy published, in a concise form, a judicious and spirited defence of the history against the calumnies of its enemies; and, with the assistance of his brother James, made an

index, or *clavis*, of the proper names. Rigaltius, besides furnishing a preface to the memoirs, added a continuation of three books to the history, and brought it down to the death of Henry IV. in 1610, according to the author's original design.

Another edition came out at Frankfort, and a second at Geneva, which was begun in 1626, and finished in 1630. Rigaltius and Du Puy carefully, though clandestinely, revised the press; but the text is said to differ little from the first Geneva edition of 1620.

In both, the volume published by Robert Stephens was taken as an authentic standard as far as it went, because it had received the author's own correction. But in all these publications, some passages (chiefly relating to the Popes), were omitted, which had appeared in the earliest edition, by Patisson's widow, which were found in the autograph, and which Rigaltius and Du Puy inserted in their collection of notes and emendations.

Copies of this collection were dispersed throughout Europe, and some found their way to Holland, England, and even to Copenhagen. From one of these one Abraham Wicfort published, at Amsterdam, in 1663, a small work in duodecimo, entitled "*Thuanus Restitutus*," which is accounted very defective and incorrect.

The Geneva editions, though the text is correct, are unpleasant to read, as there are no breaks in the pages, no notes, index, or explanations of any kind: and it was not without reason that a better edition of the history, and one more correspondent to its merit, was thought necessary in the learned world. The credit of preparing such a publication was reserved for an Englishman.

Our learned historian, Thomas Carte, being exposed to a charge of high-treason on account of his attachment to Bishop Atterbury and the Stuart family, fled to France in the year 1722, and remained at Paris six years, under the assumed name

of Philips. In order, he says himself, to avoid an idle life, which was his aversion, and to engage in some meritorious literary employment, he directed his thoughts to Thuanus's history, and first entertained the design of translating it into English. He found it expedient, however, to alter his intention, and preferred engaging in preparing for the press a full and correct edition of the original text. He gives the following account of his unwearied diligence in the prosecution of this task.

He had access to two original manuscripts of the history, one of which was deposited in the King's Library, and the other in the Library of the Fathers of the Oratory, in the Seminary of St. Magloire.

"The MS. in the King's Library," says Carte, "consists of six volumes in folio. The two first, as appears from a note in the title page, are in the handwriting of Thuanus himself, and contain almost twenty-two books, according to the present division. An hiatus then oc-

curs, for the continuation opens with the eighty first book. The third, fourth, and fifth volumes were written by the brothers St. Marthe, and they complete the narration without interruption to the end of the 126th book.

“The sixth volume which finishes the history in 138 books, is again an autograph: but the hand-writing of Thuanus never very legible, is here so small and indistinct, that the characters cannot be read without the greatest strain to the sight, and in innumerable passages glasses are necessary. The sheets of this last volume were besides separate from each other, and thrown in disorder; but it must be considered extremely precious, for there is no other manuscript copy extant of the last twelve books.”

The decyphering of this text was of course a work of time and immense labour; but no difficulties could relax the persevering industry of Carte, who perused it several times, and found it to be per-

fect, and that it had been faithfully copied in the printed edition of Geneva, with the exception of one single omission.

The same volume contained the memoirs of the life of Thuanus also in his own hand-writing. To these six volumes already mentioned, two were joined, written by the brothers St. Marthe, which contained the memoirs, and the contents of each book as far as the 126th. These formed the whole set, and Carte believes that it was never more complete than when he saw it. Probably no alterations were necessary in the printed text from the 22d book to the eighty first, and the hiatus in this manuscript might therefore be intentional.

The other Parisian manuscript, to which Carte had access, in the Seminary of St. Magloire, was in the hand-writing of the St. Marthes, and contained, in eleven volumes, 126 books complete. It is reasonable to suppose that this was the original of the Geneva edition, which the

author's executors afterwards corrected by a comparison with his autograph. And the two last volumes of the autograph, containing the final twelve books, might have been sent for a time to Geneva, for the purpose of being printed.

Carte likewise perused two other manuscripts, one Latin, the other French, consisting of passages, which had been omitted or altered in the Geneva editions, supplied from the author's autograph. These he describes as imperfectly put together, as well as the "Thuanus Restitutus," which was copied from some work of the same kind. All these collections of emendations were in the first place derived from the remarks of Rigaltius and Du Puy, which Carte saw and esteemed very valuable. Those of Rigaltius were preserved in the library of St. Genevieve; and Du Puy's in the Royal library. They do not differ, he says, from each other, except in some immaterial passages of the memoirs, to which Rigaltius added a preface.

Our countryman had not yet completed his design; but after these successful exertions, employed himself in making a collection of letters addressed to Thuanus, on the subject of his history, by learned men in different parts of Europe. This compilation he made from manuscripts in private libraries; and it forms the chief part of the seventh volume of Baskley's edition.

Du Puy, in his explanatory notes, had corrected some casual errors of the author; and Carte, following his example, made similar emendations in those parts of the history, which relate to English affairs. It remained only to give an elucidation of the Latin proper names, which all critics agree have been unreasonably distorted by Thuanus, who has thus thrown an obscurity over his work: and Carte affirms that this part of his undertaking was by far the most laborious. He does not scruple to say, that this defect alone "has rendered unpopular the immortal history of

Thuanus, a work which relates, with perspicuity and elegance, the important and glorious events of a most difficult and dangerous period, adjusted in appropriate order, with exquisite judgment, unbiassed candor, and undeviating veracity."

The reader has already been informed that Du Puy, with the assistance of his brother James, published an Interpretation of the proper names in the vernacular language. Carte perused the original manuscript, written by Du Puy himself, and which was at that time in the possession of the Abbé Thuanus, grandson of the Historian. These interpretations, as far as they extend, are annexed to every page in Buckley's edition; but many were still wanting; in supplying which, Carte says that he bestowed "immense labor, and the study of many weeks." In numerous instances, he was obliged to search the records of the Tower of London, to discover the disfigured appellations; and finally he perused all the authors, whose

works Thuanus used in the compilation of his history, and several genealogical tables, and thus at last succeeded in forming a perfect glossary.

Carte was encouraged to persevere for so long a time, in accomplishing his proposed undertaking, by the patronage of the learned and liberal-minded Dr. Mead, who probably gave him pecuniary assistance. The care of arranging the materials, which Carte has the merit of collecting, was by Mead's recommendation, entrusted to Samuel Buckley, a person who is described as every way fit for the employment: and whose success completely justifies the trust reposed in him.

His proposals for publishing an edition of Thuanus are mentioned in the Gentleman's Magazine* for 1734, and in the Journal des Sçavans for 1731 and 1732. The terms of subscription were nine

(*) Page 465. An Act of Parliament was granted to Buckley, prohibiting the importation and sale of any edition reprinted beyond the seas, for fourteen years. Before, such restrictions extended only to English books.

guineas, and twelve guineas for a copy on fine paper.

In 1733, this beautiful and excellent edition made its appearance, "from the press of S. *Buckley, London," as the title-page imports, in seven volumes, folio, and dedicated to King George the Second.

- From the account already given of Carte's diligence, it may be concluded, that this edition of Thuanus is the most full and correct that ever was published. The type is large and clear; and besides the continual glossary, and the collection of letters which we have already mentioned, the reader is presented with the continuation, in three books, by Rigaltius. The memoirs of the author's life are also inserted, which, according to Carte, do not vary in the Geneva edition from the autograph; a letter from Thuanus,

* Buckley is, in the *Journal des Sçavans*, called "a Bookseller:" in his edition a note occurs, in which he desires, that any communications may be addressed to him, at the Secretary of State's Office, Whitehall.

concerning the treaty at Loudou; and another to the President Jeannin; short lives of several of the Historian's friends; a defence of his son, who was executed at Lyons; and several other authentic pieces. In a word, no information seems omitted that was found to bear any relation to the subject. Buckley prefixed three interesting letters, on the subject of his edition, written in Latin, and addressed to Dr. Mead.

From Buckley's edition, a French translation was made and published at London, in sixteen volumes, quarto: a French abridgment, in ten volumes, duodecimo, was also published at the Hague.

L' Abbé de Fresnoy, in his "Method of studying History," published at Paris, in 1729, and whose opinion of our Author has been already cited in the preface, says, that a M. Du Ryer had translated about half the history; but that his work "did not sell well, either because it was not complete, or because the translation was but indifferently executed."

Bernard Wilson, A. M. vicar of Newark upon Trent, and prebendary of Lincoln, published, in two volumes, an English translation of part of Thuanus, which is in plain, correct language, and very faithful to the original. The first volume is dated 1729, and dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle: the second is dated the year following, and is dedicated to John, Duke of Rutland. The two volumes contain a translation of the Author's Preface, of his Memoirs, and of the first twenty-six books of the History.

These are the most material publications respecting Thuanus,* of which I have obtained any information: but some works of inferior moment, for instance,

* In a catalogue of Sir C. C. Dormer's books, published in 1764, one of the numbers is "a Thuanus, by Buckley, on *large paper*, in 16 vols. folio; a magnificent copy, illustrated with many beautiful and rare portraits of eminent characters, mentioned by De Thou." See "The Director," a periodical paper, for May 9, 1807, No. 16. p. 117.

the "Thunana," and a collection of biographical sketches, taken from the History, have frequently been given to the public.

Our Author's great work comprehends in 138 books the events of more than sixty years, from A. D. 1546 to 1607 inclusive; and he was occupied about thirteen years in the composition of it. In the period of which it treats, five sovereigns reigned in France, Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. It comprehends the erection of the United Provinces into a free republic; and the glorious reign of Elizabeth in England. Charles the Fifth was Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, and was succeeded on the Spanish throne by his son, Philip the Second: Solyman, the Magnificent, reigned part of the time in Turkey, and there were several Popes, of whom we shall have occasion to speak, in giving, briefly, a general outline of this important History.

The first book serves as an introduction, and opens with a view of the state of Europe, and its different powers, a little before the death of Francis the First, of France, about the year 1546. The Author first treats of the French and Spanish kingdoms, and gives an account of the rise and progress of their greatness; which France gradually acquired from the natural advantages of the country: Spain, on the other hand, rose late and rapidly into eminence, chiefly in consequence of the unprincipled, but profound, policy of Ferdinand of Arragon, whose power and wealth were increased by the discovery of the New World. Thuanus takes a brief survey of the reign of Lewis XII. of France, who pursued the schemes of conquest and aggrandisement in Italy, which had originated with his predecessor, Charles the Eighth. He attributes the bad fortune, which attended the enterprises of this popular Monarch, to the connection which he entered into with

Alexander the Sixth; nor does he scruple to condemn, in strong terms, the infamous conduct, and profligate morals, of this Pope; and the violence of his successor, Julius the Second: and these are some of the passages, which gave so much offence to the court of Rome.

Then follows a compendium of the reign of Francis the First, his unsuccessful attempts upon the Milanese, and the perpetual struggle he maintained against the exuberant power of Charles the Fifth, who succeeded to the dominions of Ferdinand in the Old and New World, and possessed, in addition, the imperial crown of Germany. The Historian blames the conduct of Pope Leo the Tenth in issuing the sale of indulgencies, in order to supply his turn for extravagance, which gave rise to the Reformation in Germany; and also, in granting to Francis the First the power of appointing to vacant benefices in the church, which used to be disposed of by election. The account concludes

with the treaty of Crespy, formed by Francis, in the year 1544, with the Emperor; which was destined, like former treaties which took place between them, to be soon dissolved.

The affairs of England are discussed in the same cursory manner. The abrogation of the Papal authority, by Henry the Eighth, is ascribed to his extravagant passion (*insanum amorem*) for Anne Bolcyn; and his capricious and cruel conduct to his subjects is related in these terms: "The King declared himself head of the Church; but though he thus changed its discipline, he permitted no alteration in doctrinal points, and alike punished, with death, those who adopted the opinions of Luther and Zuinglius, and the defenders of Papal authority." Thuanus adds, that it was reported, the University of Paris was bribed to pronounce a sentence in favor of Henry's divorce; and that he would have continued in subjection to the See of Rome, if he had met with easier

and more prudent Popes. England was not included in the treaty of Crespy, and Henry, shortly after it was concluded, fitted out an expedition against France, and took Boulogne.

The state of Russia is scarcely noticed: Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, are described as unsettled, and subject to intestine tumults; and Hungary, from its unfortunate situation, was exposed to the continual irruptions of Solyman the Magnificent. Thuanus, after mentioning the conquests of this Sultan in Egypt, and the East, adds, "In the distribution of empire among so many great princes at the same time, I think I perceive the dispensation of Divine Wisdom, providing that each, by mutual emulation, and through fear of his rival, might be kept within the bounds of duty, and the courage of one be restrained by the bravery of another, from running into licentious extravagance."

The thread of narration is continued to Italy, "which country lay," says Thuanus, "as it were, the prize of conquest between two most powerful* princes; and in it, as in a theatre, a tragedy, of uncertain event, had been acted for a long time." The Republic of Venice is described as wavering, from motives of policy; Genoa inclined to the Emperor; Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany, of the Medicean family, courted the Emperor's favor likewise, and sagaciously used it to advance his rising fortunes; while the ancient and illustrious house of Este declined in dignity and power. The separate petty states were employed in a constant struggle, either against each other, or against some foreign power, to maintain a feeble and precarious independence.

Switzerland was occupied with religious contentions; for many of the cantons, chiefly through the influence of

* Charles and Francis,

Zuinglius, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformers.

In Germany, these doctrines had made so great a progress in the course of thirty years, which had elapsed since they were first inculcated by Martin Luther, that nearly half the empire had revolted from the Papal authority. The Protestant princes and nobles began to assume a high tone in demanding the free exercise of religion; and the Emperor became jealous of their growing power, and alarmed, lest not only the established church, but his own dignity also, should sink into disrepute before it. He long dissembled his hostile intentions; but having concluded the treaty of Crespy with the King of France, and being joined by the Pope, Paul the Third, he now prepared to subdue the Protestants in his dominions by force of arms; and the attention of all Europe was directed to the progress of the German war.

At this conjuncture, the regular history of Thuanus opens; and he finishes his

introductory book in these terms : " I shall now proceed to give a more copious and accurate relation of events, in an unvarnished style, and, as I professed in the beginning, without favor or prejudice; and with my whole heart and repeated prayers, I intreat the Bestower of all graces to enable me to execute this determination."

It is not my purpose to follow the author in detail. The most striking and important part of his work is allowed to be that which relates to his own country : and to this I shall principally confine myself, while I endeavour to give the reader some idea of the manner, in which Thuanus treats his subject.

The rapid and complete success of the Emperor's enterprize against the Protestants in Germany, alarmed the neighbouring powers. The Pope began to penetrate his ambitious designs, and to dread his predominating influence. He therefore recalled his forces, and withdrew a council, assembled to regulate the affairs of religion,

from Trent to Bologna, which place was more under his own jurisdiction. He was farther irritated by the murder of his natural son, Lewis Farnese, Governor of Placentia, and the subsequent seizure of the place by the Imperialists; and also by the publication of the Interim, a religious edict, in which the Emperor took upon him to regulate ecclesiastical affairs and modes of worship.

The King of France, viewing the encreasing power of his ancient rival with similar jealousy, took vigorous measures for checking it, and, with this design, formed an alliance with the Pope and the Venetians; and even negotiated with the confederated Protestants, and with the Turks: but death intercepted his preparations. According to the general acceptance of his character, Francis I. is described by Thuanus as a high-spirited, accomplished Prince, who, among other virtues, justly deserved the title of "Father of Learning;" which our historian deems a far su-

perior glory to that contended for, by other Kings, his contemporaries, in conquest, and extent of dominion:

He was succeeded on the throne by his son, Henry II. who had attained his thirty-first year, and had occasionally commanded the French forces engaged against the Emperor, with no common reputation; but his abilities were not equal to those of his father, and, either from misfortune or imprudence, his reign proved a source of great calamities to France.

Fourteen years before his accession to the crown, Henry married Catherine de Medicis, a niece of Pope Clement VII. and had by her a numerous issue; but his affections were fixed with a degree of fatuity on Diana de Poitiers, whom he created Duchess de Valentinois, and who ruled his mind with uncontrolled influence. The populace, at a loss to account for this devotion of their King to a woman quite in the decline of life, ascribed it to the supernatural effects of magic art.

Henry prosecuted his father's schemes of checking the ambitious designs and growing power of the Emperor. But Charles found a much more formidable opposition in the arms of his own German subjects, as well Papists as Protestants. For when it was perceived that he was aiming to oppress their liberties, to make the crown hereditary in his family, and to raise the fabric of his own aggrandizement upon the ruins of the Germanic constitution ; the Princes of the Empire, with the artful and intrepid Maurice of Saxony at their head, took measures for resisting this plan of aggression. So vigorous and steady was their confederacy, and the hostility of the nation so decided, that, though the Emperor finally succeeded in dissipating the force of his opponents, yet he dared not afterwards revert to his former projects, but was obliged to abandon altogether his favourite dream of grandeur.

The King of France, as has been said, entered the lists with the Emperor, and

endeavoured to wrest some possessions from him in the Netherlands and in Italy ; he also employed himself, not without some imputation of cruelty, according to our historian, in suppressing the Protestant religion, which began to make considerable progress in his dominions : but he neglected to restrain a domestic power, which was, in reality, much more to be dreaded. On the contrary, he nourished and fostered it, to the subversion of his own royal house. I allude to the influence which the family of Guise acquired during this reign, the fatal effects of which Francis I. foresaw and feared, and, upon his death bed, exhorted his son, by timely caution, to prevent ; but his admonition was in vain.

It had been the policy of the Sovereigns of the House of Valois, Lewis XI., XII., and their successors, to depress the Bourbons, who were next heirs to the crown, being descended from a junior branch of the family of St. Louis. The way was thus left unobstructed for the elevation of

two ancient families, those of Guise and Montmorenci, who both rose to distinction in the reign of Francis I.

Anne de Montmorenci traced his pedigree to one of the Barons, who were companions of Pharamond. He was invested with the high dignity of Constable of France, and obtained great consideration and authority by a character for prudence, moderation, and political ability.

Francis, Duke of Guise, of still nobler birth and larger possessions than the Constable, gained the favor of the King and the nation, by popular manners and the brilliance of his military virtues. He descended from a younger branch of the Sovereign and independent Princes of Lorraine, and was son to Claude, who came into France in the reign of Francis I. to take possession of the Dutchy of Guise, and distinguished himself at the battle of Marignan.

Montmorenci acted with unpopular and injudicious severity in quelling a tumult in

Guienne, in the early part of Henry's reign. At the same time Guise gained upon the affections of the people by his spirited and hazardous defence of the city of Metz, when it was besieged by the Emperor. He threw himself into the place, with the flower of the French nobility under his command, and shared every toil and peril. The Emperor had effected a breach in the walls, and made preparations for a last assault, when Guise arranged his companions in order of battle, and addressed them, according to * Thuanus, in an eloquent harrangue to the following effect :—

“ If his Majesty, the King of France, had not considered this city of great importance to his affairs, and did not place the utmost confidence in your valor, my lords and fellow-soldiers, he would not have charged you with the defence of it against so powerful an enemy. Neither

* See History, lib. xi.

can you think me so void of understanding, that I would expose so many princes of the blood, and other warriors ennobled by their birth and courage, to manifest hazard, and even inevitable destruction, by suffering them to shut themselves up with me in these walls, if I were not confident that they are called hither by Providence to reap immortal honor, and to brand the enemy with eternal disgrace.

“ Be assured, that the Emperor is not excited to this enterprize by any confidence in his own strength; but, stung with shame for the affront he has * this year received in Germany, he is come, urged by despair, to make the last trial of his fortune. Though insatiable ambition, and desire of French blood rage without diminution in his breast, yet are we sufficiently provided with strength and courage

* Charles had been obliged to fly from Inspruck before the confederated princes.

to maintain our righteous cause against the unjust attempts of an old man, impotent in mind and body.

“ Let us not doubt of God’s protection, who defends the just, and rejoices in the name of Lord of Hosts. Let us entertain no dreadful apprehensions of the enemy, unless, indeed, we set greater value upon empty titles and proud affectation of grandeur than upon genuine and unvarnished worth, which needs no adventitious support. For what, let me ask, renders him so formidable ? Is it the battle of Pavia ? That victory was gained indeed, under his banners, but in his absence ; he owed more to the courage of others, and (to our sorrow be it said), of the French in particular, who fought there against their countrymen, than to his own. The advantage which he reaped from the calamity of others, may be ascribed to fortune, which is changeable, rather than to the fixed and inflexible quality of virtue : but we may now prog-

nosticate a more favourable event, when Frenchmen join unanimously in their country's cause.

“ Upon what, then, does this enemy of ours value himself? Upon his triumphant return from the expedition to Tunis? Let him remember that those very troops were ruined without a battle, in Provence; and found, by dear experience, that a victory was not so easily obtained over the French gentry, as over the Moors.

“ Does he boast of towns taken in Juliers, and of the prostrate submission of the Duke of Cleves himself at his feet? Yet this precipitate career of victories was checked by the little town of Landrecy, held by our men.

“ But let us allow him to exult in the pride of his family; let him relate his advantage over the Turks, whom he has twice driven from the frontiers; since he has been oftener repulsed himself from our frontier, with exceeding loss and disgrace.

“Let him boast of the Duke of Saxony’s being conquered and taken prisoner by him at the Elbe; but let him not forget the blow we gave him, a little before, at Carignan. He has taken, indeed, Stenay, in Lorraine; but has had cause sufficient to repent of this charge and trouble, since we so easily recovered it. But what do I say? We have this year taken Montmedy, Yvoy, Danvilliers, Rochemars, Buillon, and many other places, and retain them still before his face.

“This is the man, therefore, whose forces we exhausted in Provence, broke at Landrecy, defeated at the siege of Carignan. Yet at that time, his circumstances were flourishing; the Italians, Spaniards, Germans, and English, were united to him, and the state of his health was prosperous. Now the English are his enemies, the Germans disaffected, the Italians fluctuating with factions; and lastly, the Spaniards themselves are generally mutinous. What great efforts can we suppose him likely to

make, since his ignominious flight from Inspruck, now his health is broken and his friends are at variance, against a victorious King, who is in the flower of his age, has always been a favourite of fortune, and is surrounded with an unanimous nobility, such as I see before me, and so many powerful armies ?

“ Come on, therefore, noble lords and fellow-soldiers ; assure yourselves that the cause and fortune of France depend on this event : unsheath your swords for your altars and your families, and advance with intrepidity against the enemy. Be confident that ye will receive from God an eternal recompense of happiness for the good service yielded unto your country, titles and honors from a most munificent sovereign, and from posterity an eternal and unfading meed of glory.”

This is one of the most spirited passages in Thuanus, who always speaks with animation of his country. Notwithstanding the fidelity with which he relates events,

it is easy in many parts to perceive a degree of nationality, which requires, perhaps, some indulgence.

This harangue is not unworthy of being compared with the orations, which classical authors of antiquity put into the mouths of their great characters. "It was delivered," says our historian, "with manly eloquence, and had great effect:" and the Emperor was in fact obliged to raise the siege of Metz.

It is observable that Thuanus, in his account of the siege of any place, particularly mentions the number of cannon-shot, fired against the walls. Thus the town of Metz, he says, sustained fourteen thousand discharges of cannon, "*ictus tormentorum displosa*." By the laws of war at the time, a garrison which suffered the cannon to play, when the walls would not sustain the discharge, was put to * death. The institutions of chi-

* The Marquis de Marignan put this law in execution, after besieging a small town in the Sienese. See Thuanus, lib. 14.

valry were not yet extinct : at the siege of Metz a Spanish cavalier sent a challenge to the garrison, which was accepted, and the two opponents encountered each other four times with lances.

A succession of wars, and an ardour for military glory, produced in this age many examples of heroic resolution, which are probably not surpassed in the annals of the world. Eminent instances of this determined fortitude are to be found in the account of the sieges of Magdebourg, Metz, and of Sienna. At this latter place the citizens, contending for their liberties, under the command of the intrepid Frenchman, Monluc, sustained a siege of ten months from the Imperial forces. They were reduced to all the horrors of famine, and even water failed ; they dismissed their auxiliaries, and were driven to the painful necessity of excluding from the walls more than four thousand infirm inhabitants of both sexes, who were thus exposed to the insults of the enemy.

“A miserable spectacle,” says * Thuanus; “and an act bordering upon inhumanity, if it were not made excusable by the exigence of affairs, and the liberty of the state, to which all things ought to yield.” The garrison obtained at last honorable conditions, and if fame be any recompense for noble actions the efforts of the brave Sienese were not without success.

The capitulation of Sienna, was not the only unprosperous event, which befel the French arms in Italy. An army sent by King Henry to the relief of the town, was totally routed with a terrible slaughter at Marciano, by the Imperialists, under the command of the Marquis of Marignan.

With a view of repairing these disasters, the Duke of Guise was sent to take the command in Italy; and the King entered into an unfortunate connection with Pope Paul † IV. and his ambitious relations the

* Lib. 15.

† Thuanus particularly condemns this Pope for his severity in the establishment of the Inquisition.

Caraffas, who hoped to aggrandize their family with the spoils of the Imperial possessions in Italy.

At their instigation, Henry suddenly broke a truce he had formed with Spain, at the time the Emperor resigned his crown to his son Philip, in the year 1556. But this breach of faith was severely punished by the defeat, the French, under Montmorenci, received soon after at St. Quintin ; which was so complete, that nothing but his own want of enterprize, prevented Philip from prosecuting his advantage, and taking Paris itself.

On the 21st of September, 1558, died Charles V. at the retreat in Spain, in which, with peculiar eccentricity of disposition, he had secluded himself after abdicating the throne. His character is drawn by our Historian (in his twenty-first book) in the most favourable terms, chiefly on account of the resolute zeal he displayed in promoting general councils for the purpose of settling religious affairs, and the

piety he shewed at the close of life. He expatiates on the glory and good fortune that attended his long reign, but acknowledges that in particular instances his conduct was too cautious and subtle. The Emperor left, besides his legitimate offspring, two natural children; but he never brought them or their mothers forward into public notice. In relating this circumstance, our good Author, with his usual attention to propriety of conduct, remarks, that "It affords a salutary example to Princes, whose lives have so much influence on the manners of their subjects; and an admonition that, if they do offend, it should at least be in secret."

The French sustained another defeat, near Gravelines, almost as decisive as that of St. Quintin; and these repeated misfortunes checked the martial ardor of Henry, and made him incline to peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Chateau, in Cambresis, between the

French and Spaniards, in Feb. 1559; and so general was the spirit of pacification, that "an agreement seemed to be re-established," says * Thuanus, "amongst all the princes and states of the Christian world. But," he adds, "through the perverse judgment of the two Kings (Henry and Philip), and the pernicious advice of their ministers, the issue of it was detrimental to France and the Netherlands, in consequence of the rise of commotions, far worse than a foreign war. For from that time clandestine projects of the Cardinal of † Lorraine and the Bishop of ‡ Arras, for the detection and capital punishment of sectaries (sectariis), were renewed: upon which occasion secret schemes were laid on both sides, which, in France, under color of religion, through the weakness or negligence of government during the minority of our Kings, having been dis-

* Lib. 22. † Brother to the Duke of Guise.

‡ Granvelle, Philip's Minister.

sembled and palliated for a long time, broke out at last in open rebellion against the royal majesty."

After the peace of Chateau Cambresis, the Pope, Paul IV. the great promoter of the Inquisition, the King of Spain, and the King of France, seem to have directed all their thoughts to the extirpation of the reformers. Henry, in particular, instituted the most violent proceedings against them, being instigated by the Duchess of Valentinois on one hand, who grasped at the spoils of their confiscated property; and on the other by the Guises, who courted popularity in a display of zeal for the Church of Rome.

Finding the Parliament not disposed to be subservient to his views on this subject, the King adopted the arbitrary measure of entering the council-chamber in the midst of their deliberations, attended by the princes of the blood, in order to intimidate the members, and to overawe their votes. But, notwithstanding the royal presence,

many, and amongst them Christopher de Thou, father of our Historian, were not deterred from speaking the dictates of their conscience in favor of toleration. Some were bold enough to inveigh against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and to recommend the institution of an Œcumenical Council; and one member went so far as to make an allusion to the retort which Elijah made to this question of King Ahab, "Who art thou that troublest Israel?"

The King shewed his displeasure by imprisoning those who were most violent in opposition; and Thuanus condemns, in strong terms, his conduct "in thus coming into the Parliament to subvert his own laws; and by a too great easiness of temper, rendering himself disgracefully subservient to the unlawful schemes of his presumptuous advisers." He proceeds to say, "that while a miserable class of men were every where hurried to judgment and execution, on account of

religion, and their friends were constrained through fear, to keep a melancholy silence ; the state of the kingdom formed a dreadful contrast to the gaiety of the court. *There* nothing but the sound of joy was heard, while preparations were making for the approaching nuptials of the Duke of Savoy, with the Princess Margaret, the King's sister; which had been arranged in an article of the late treaty."

This scene of festivity was suddenly overclouded by a terrible accident. The King had instituted a tournament, of which exercise he was very fond, and jousted himself with the count of Montgomery, who was esteemed the most powerful knight in France. The lances of the two combatants brake, and Montgomery being carried forward by the impetuosity of his horse, the stock of his weapon entered the vizor of the King's helmet, pierced his right eye, and injured the brain. The unfortunate monarch

reeled from his horse, and survived not many days.

Our Historian sums up his character in the following impartial terms :*—" Some persons think that Henry's reign cannot be too much extolled. They denominated him a warlike and high-spirited King, who, from the time of his accession to the throne, was engaged in various enterprises, generally with success. They mention, to his honor, his extention of the dominion of France by the conquest of the greater part of Italy, and the reduction of the power of Scotland and Corsica. They say, that he forced the Emperor Charles to fly at the battle of Renty, and compelled him, through chagrin, to retire to a private life; that afterwards, from an extraordinary sense of piety towards the Church of Rome, he renewed the war, in order to succour Pope Paul IV. and met the numerous forces of Spain and England,

* Lib. 22.

united to invade his realm. They add, that he had concluded a peace, if not upon favourable terms, yet advantageous to the kingdom and the people ; and had farther provided for the national tranquillity, by arranging an intermarriage between his family and that of his adversary. Lastly, it is said that, like a brave, generous, and accomplished prince, he had died in arms, to the incredible grief of his subjects.

“ An opposite party affirmed that the King had tarnished the glory of his first exploits by a disgraceful and faithless violation of the truce; although the fault was not so much his own, but attached more to the instigators of this unfortunáte war. They added, that, in this expedition, the wealth of the kingdom was idly lavished, and its principal strength impaired, and that it had occasioned defeats too foul to be named or remembered: that the King and nobles of France had been dupes to the pride and treachery of the Caraffas, and the name of the French

almost obliterated in Italy; that some few troops, rescued from slaughter, and nearly destroyed by famine, had been recalled home to defend the state in its exigency: that a peace had, indeed, been made, and was very desirable, but, at the same time, it was attended with dishonor; and the nuptials served only as a veil to that disgrace: in fine, that the King, who had been inured to serious and foreign warfare, had fallen at home like a common soldier, amidst pastimes and revels, and had brought destruction upon himself whilst he designed to make an exhibition of his prowess.

“ Neither were his domestic affairs concealed; that a harlot had been introduced over his consort’s head, that she fascinated the king’s mind by her sorceries (*veneficiis*), and, having taken possession of the palace, bore the chief sway while he lived: and hence arose prodigality and luxury, and insatiable covetousness among the courtiers.

“ Among the testimonies of a corrupt age, the French poets, with whose productions Henry's court swarmed, were not the least: abusing their talents, they made court, by vile flatteries, to an ambitious woman; in the mean time, debauching the minds of youth by their impurities, turning the men from the pursuit of real knowledge, and banishing shame and virgin modesty from the female sex.

“ Upon the whole, therefore, we may say, without partiality or prejudice, that Henry was a warlike prince; and, from this disposition, he rejected the pacific counsels which Montmorenci continually insinuated, and while fortune favored him, embraced all opportunities of war: in other respects mild and easy, and yielding to the influence of those about his person. People who looked into futurity, considered his death as a public misfortune; for, as his sons were left almost infants under the care of a mother fond of sway,

and the court was divided into factions, they conjectured that the peace would not be permanent; and that domestic storms, if not maturely prevented, would soon follow the late foreign war.

“ Now,” continues our Historian, “ omitting to relate the excellent sayings and actions of our ancestors in peace and war, I pass on to a scene of domestic miseries, and, indeed, of our own vices, which have, for forty years, harassed and afflicted this once flourishing kingdom. But first, I must premise, that, without malignity or favor, I draw the following relation from facts, and from such publications, as were written indeed, very early, whilst the contention was fresh, but which I afterwards measured by the standard of the best living authorities. I entreat pardon, in the mean time, for any occasional censures of the ambition, avarice, perfidy, frauds, and pernicious counsels against the state, of certain persons. For this is the rule, which, with temper, and apart from

detraction, must be observed by the faithful historian. For my own part, I hope the distance of time will vindicate me from the charge of malice; and the commotions and various calamities, which have since taken place, will fully enable posterity to judge, whether or not I stand chargeable with falsehood."

Henry II. left four sons, three of whom successively filled the throne of France, Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. during a period of the greatest national tumult and calamity. The twenty-third book of Thuanus opens with an animated description of the state of the kingdom at the accession of Francis, who was then only sixteen years of age, and weak and imbecile both in mind and body. He had married Mary, the Queen of Scotland, afterwards so celebrated, who was one year older than himself; she was niece to the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, and thus the influence of these princes was much augmented.

Deserting the Duchess of Valentinois, who was now banished from court, and deprived of her property, they ingratiated themselves with the Queen Dowager, Catherine of Medicis, and strove to depress their rivals in power, the party of Montmorenci and the Bourbon princes; and to place creatures of their own in offices of trust.

“The Cardinal,” says Thuanus, “was immoderately insolent and haughty; and, from his subtle contrivance, generally proceeded those schemes, which his brother, the Duke of Guise, a man of greater courage, and more noble sentiments, carried into execution. Between them, they governed France: for the nobility, which in tumultuous times use to have great influence, were now wearied with a succession of wars, and desirous of domestic ease, eagerly retired from the bustle of politics to their private seats. The body of the people, groaning under the weight of taxes, provided they were relieved from

this burden, were little solicitous in whose hands the administration rested. There still remained the Clergy, an honorable and opulent class of men, and who had the chief influence in the Parliament; which assembly, next to the King's Privy Council, has the greatest authority in the realm. These the house of Guise industriously courted by a pretence of defending the antient religion, and an ostentation of violent hatred against the Sectaries. Many were intimidated; and remembering the violent proceedings of the late King, kept silence in Parliament; from fear of giving offence."

Still farther to strengthen their power, the Lords of Lorraine persuaded Catherine to have recourse to a measure, which our author justly calls, "disgraceful and insidious;" viz. the imploring succour from Philip II. of Spain against the enemies of the Regency. By the interposition of Philip, they hoped to overawe the Princes of Bourbon, who, by right of

blood, had the first claim to the administration of affairs; and particularly Anthony de Bourbon, who had married Joan de Albret, Queen of Navarre. That little country, from its contiguity to Spain, lay too much exposed to the incursions of its superior power, and had been wrested from the lawful possessors by Ferdinand of Arragon, and Philip still retained great part of it.

Anthony de Bourbon himself was of an indolent, dilatory disposition : but the Prince of Condé, his brother, who was of more active spirit, became indignant at the insult and injustice shewn to his family, and took the resolution of joining the Reformers, or * *Hugonots*, as they were termed, who were now persecuted with the utmost rigour. Oppression increased, instead of diminishing their numbers ; and animated by the countenance of the Prince

* The origin of this name does not seem to be precisely known.

of Condé, they entered into a conspiracy for seizing the person of the King, and removing the Guises from the Government. It was called the conspiracy of *Amboise*, from the name of the Castle, where the King resided; and being detected, the Hugonots were treated with additional severity. The Prince of Condé himself would have lost his life, had not the death of the King intervened, † after a reign of little more than a year.

* Two circumstances are recorded about this time by Thuanus, which shew the ferocious manners of that unhappy period. The first is, that, when the King held his court at Fontainebleau, and many persons resorted thither "with petitions for debts, rewards and favors," a gibbet was erected, by the advice of the Guises, with a proclamation to this purport—"That all petitioners should leave the court within twenty-four hours, under penalty of being hanged on that gibbet, in case of disobedience." The other anecdote is of Philip II. who was in danger from a tempest on his voyage to Spain, and thought the most acceptable return he could make to Providence for his deliverance, would

His brother, Charles IX. succeeded to the throne, in the eleventh year of his age. This change made little alteration in the affairs of the kingdom; but the Queen-Mother, alarmed at the aspiring temper of the * House of Guise, began to shew more favor to the Princes of Bourbon, and the Protestants, with the hope that the power of one party might form a check to that of the other.

Montmorenci formed a separate interest from both, and placing religion out of the question, professed a concern only for the political state of the country.

A meeting of the states was convoked at Orleans, a measure which Thuanus

be the public execution of all Sectaries throughout his dominions. In the prosecution of this cruel purpose, "he actually beheld," says our author, "the burning of 20 of his nobility at the stake, in the town of Valladolid."

* They traced their pedigree to the Carlovingian race of Kings, and boasted of a claim to the throne, prior to that of the descendants of Capet.

approves, as calculated to promote that proper connection, and mutual dependence, which ought to subsist between a Sovereign and his free people.

In 1562, an edict was issued, permitting the exercise of their religion to the Protestants. But the Duke of Guise entering, with his attendants, a village where they were assembled at public worship, a dispute and skirmish arose, and many of the Protestants lost their lives. This was the signal for arms, and the beginning of civil wars, which lasted, with short intermissions, for ten years. During their continuance, many thousand lives were lost, and the chief leaders on either side fell by violent deaths. The Duke of Guise was assassinated: the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Constable Montmorenci, were killed in battle.

Montmorenci was in his eightieth year; and Thuanus thus * describes the fatal

* Lib. 42.

event which caused his death, at the battle of St Dennis, A. D. 1567. In that combat, the royal forces were in part victorious over the Protestants, commanded by the Prince of Condé, and the celebrated Admiral Coligni; but the General himself, in the quarter where he fought, was much pressed by a furious attack of the enemy. "After having performed," says our author, "the duty not only of a commander in chief, but of a private soldier, this illustrious veteran at length sustained the shock of battle in his own person, and received a wound in his face. Robert Stuart, a Scottish commander, then called upon him to surrender; but Montmorenci, though surrounded on all sides, with an arm still vigorous, struck the pommel of his sword against his cheek, with sufficient force to beat out three of his teeth. Immediately, either Stuart enraged with the anguish of the wound, or else some person in the crowd, aimed a pistol (*scloppeti ictum*) at Montmorenci's

back. The ball easily penetrated through his coat of mail, which will not resist pistol-shot; and with a deadly blow, levelled him on the ground." He * died the next day, and is described by Thuanus as a man of principle, courage, and ability, but unfortunate. † Voltaire has almost literally copied this character of Montmorenci.

In the midst of these civil contentions, the royal authority was much weakened. Catherine de Medicis wished to rescue it from subjection to any party; and despairing of effecting her purpose by open force, made choice of an expedient, which it is said, was suggested to her mind by the writings of Machiavel, and by her education and intercourse with Italians. She resolved to treat the Protestants with specious kindness, and to destroy them,

* It was Montmorenci, who said to his confessor, "Do you think I have lived fourscore years, without learning to die a quarter of an hour."

† See "*Mœurs*." Vol. 4, p. 202.

when lulled into security. The temper of the times, too conversant in bloodshed, contributed to the execution of this ferocious design ; and the house of Guise is implicated in the guilt of it. Thuanus says that it was only in part revealed to the young King : and that Catherine hoped that, after the extinction of the Protestants, the odium of this sanguinary measure might fall upon the Guises : and she might be enabled, by a politic interposition, to exterminate at once, both these formidable rivals of the royal power.

A deceitful peace was granted to the Protestants, and every step was taken that could allay suspicion. A marriage was concerted between the King's sister and the young King of Navarre, afterwards * Henry IV. who was then about nineteen years of age, and the nominal head of the reformed party. Coligni, a

* Henry was born in 1553, the same year with Thuanus.

man of undaunted resolution, and fertile in resources, was in effect their leader: and he, and his chief associates, were invited to Paris, at the solemnization of the nuptials.

They fell too supinely into the snare; and six days after the marriage ensued the massacre of St. Bartholemew, an act which admits neither of aggravation nor excuse. On the 24th of August, 1672, before day-break, the King himself, according to our author, gave orders for the bell of the Palace to be tolled, which was the expected signal. The work of death immediately began, and as it was a pre-concerted scheme, in the course of a few days, 30,000 Protestants were slain in cold blood, throughout the kingdom of France: but Thuanus adds, "he believes the number to be somewhat less," "*aliquanto minorem.*"

* Charles the IXth survived but two

* He died in great anguish, of an uncommon and frightful disorder. His blood issued at all his pores.

years, and our Historian's character of him is here subjoined. His reign continued fourteen years, and occupies 31 books of the history we are considering, from the 27th to the 59th. The reader who wishes to consult it, will find an interesting account of the French affairs, of the rise of the Waldenses, and of the Peers of France, in the 27th book ; of the society of Jesuits, in the 37th book ; and the massacre of St. Bartholomew in the 52d : but these detached parts of history are all too long to be here inserted.

* “ Charles the IXth died on Whitsunday, in the year 1574, aged 24 years, 10 months and 30 days, and after having reigned 13 years, 5 months, and 25 days.

“ He was born with a good disposition, and endowed with great virtues, but a bad education, and his mother's indulgence, depraved the gifts of nature. He possessed a lofty mind equal to his exalted condition, a fund of sagacity and acuteness,

* Thuanus lib. 57, at the end.

manly eloquence, and prudence beyond his years: but it often degenerated into cunning. His penetration in discerning the qualities of other men was remarkable: cautious in dispensing benefits, and morose in estimating each person's merit, he was accused of want of liberality by the courtiers, who measure a prince's worth by the rule of their own insatiable covetousness.

“ It must be confessed that he was prone to sudden gusts of passion; which disposition was cherished, by the constant and violent exercise he used in hunting, and by forbearance of sleep: and though he was by nature a complete hypocrite, he sometimes broke forth into absolute fury. His stature was of the largest size, his body bent, his neck stiff, with a stern eye, a hooked nose, and of a pale and leaden complexion. His limbs were well formed, and his frame muscular. He was patient of labor, and fasted long; and his death is thought to have been hastened by abstemiousness.

“ He indulged an unreasonable fondness for hunting, and from the custom of embuing his hands with the blood of beasts, his temper became more savage ; and he was transported to acts of cruelty, in proportion as his blood became heated by exercise. After hunting he did not rest, but used severe exercise at *foot-ball, or immoderate dancing, or in fabricating armour at the forge. He was, however, on this account less prone to sensual indulgencies.

“ He was temperate in food, and sleep. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew his slumbers used to be broken by nightly horrors ; and musicians were then admitted to his chamber in order to compose his mind.

“ Amidst all his extravagant and violent amusements, he was fond of music and poetry, and made verses himself. He paid great honor to poets, particularly to the celebrated Ronsard ; but used to say that, like high-spirited horses, they were to be fed, and not pampered.”

* Ascobolo.

After the death of Charles, Henry III. his brother, who had been elected King of Poland, succeeded to the throne of France; and, by his weak and impolitic conduct, fomented the dissensions, which now raged in the nation at their height. The imprudence and unpopularity of the King encouraged Henry Duke of Guise (son of Francis, who had been assassinated), to prosecute those schemes, which his father and uncle had planned. He possessed all his father's popular qualities, with an ambition more aspiring, and greater energy of mind.

He began his public career, like all demagogues, with professions of disinterested attachment to the public good; and the peculiar temper of the times enabled him to assume, in addition, the mask of religious zeal. It soon appeared that his object was of a selfish nature, and that, in the pursuit of his own aggrandizement, he disregarded the laws of his

country, and the allegiance which he owed to his King.*

The life of our Author, and the preface to his history, present an epitome of this unhappy reign, of the rebellion of Guise, the formation of the League, and the insidious plans which Philip II. framed for the purpose of diminishing the power of the French monarchy, and of placing it in a state of dependance upon Spain.

The last act of this tragical history was the assassination of the Duke of Guise ; a base and atrocious measure, which the King adopted with a resolution, which despair sometimes communicates to weak minds. It took place at Blois, where the King held his court, on the 23d of December, 1588. Our Author, in his ninety-third book, relates what passed on the occasion with much particularity. Guise had received some intimations of the King's

* By the side of the Princes of the House of Lorraine, it was said that the rest of the nobility appeared like common personages.

design, and his friends exhorted him to be cautious of his safety. The day before, at an entertainment, a note was folded in his napkin, containing expressions to the same purport: but, after having read it, he wrote at the bottom, "The King dares not," and threw it beneath the table.

Early in the morning of the 23d, Henry assembled some of his confidential ministers, and Thuanus ascribes to him a speech of some length, in which the design of taking the Duke's life is opened, and the measure justified upon the plea of its necessity. A council had been summoned, to which, at the usual hour, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Archbishop of Lyons repaired. The Duke himself arose late from the arms of one of the ladies of the court, and came last into the apartment, where were his brother and the Archbishop. He had been accustomed to treat their apprehensions with contempt; but now, notwithstanding his efforts to conceal his feelings,

a sudden chill came over him, though he was seated close to the fire; and, either from fear or lassitude, his nose bled profusely. The attendants brought some * confections; and he delayed going in to the King, until at last a gentleman came to desire his attendance. The Duke immediately arose, and, composing his countenance, saluted with dignity the persons present. He then went forward to the King's chamber, the door of which, as usual, was immediately bolted, and proceeded to a cabinet on the left hand. He lifted up the tapestry to enter, and was immediately stabbed with several wounds by persons who were placed there for the purpose. He had no power to cry out, but, turning round, had only strength sufficient to struggle back upon his knees into the chamber, and there died without a groan. The King ordered the body to be covered with a carpet, and

* Dulciaria.

entered the chamber. He then admitted the other counsellors, and said to the Cardinal of Vendome, "Now I am, indeed, a King."

Meanwhile the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Archbishop of Lyons had started from their seats, on hearing the tumult. Immediately suspecting the cause of it, they ran each in different directions; the Cardinal to make his escape, but the Archbishop towards an opposite door, with the design of assisting the Duke. They were both taken into custody by the guards attending, and conveyed to an upper room, where they remained in confinement that day and the ensuing night. The Cardinal uttered some violent and threatening expressions; and the King, fearing his vindictive temper, had him privately put to death.

Our Historian fails not to express his detestation of these complicated acts of atrocity. He gives the character of Henry, Duke of Guise, in terms to the

following effect : —“ The Duke acquired popularity, in the first place, from the esteem in which the memory of his father Francis was held, and encreased it by the intrepidity and conduct he displayed, on many occasions, as a military commander. He possessed, besides, a winning affability of manners, mixed with gravity, a species of eloquence more adapted to persuade in private than in public, unbounded liberality, universal politeness, a commanding person, and a dignified grace and composure, which diffused over his countenance, mien, and whole deportment, the marks of a great soul and lofty spirit. He readily endured excess of heat or cold, hunger, and thirst; and, though bred up with the most refined delicacy, complied, when in camp, with a soldier's fare. He was sparing of sleep, active, always of a cheerful countenance; and the detail of business was so easy to him, that he seemed to make a diversion and amusement of the most serious affairs.

“ These excellent endowments were counterbalanced by inordinate ambition, accompanied by a crafty and versatile genius. Dissimulation and deceit were familiar to him ; he was accustomed to vary from himself, and did not scruple to fabricate one falsehood upon another, in such a manner, as to produce the most plausible reasons, at the moment he was acting with the greatest duplicity, and in order to attach blame upon others.

“ This defect his intimate associates alone perceived ; and his want of fidelity and truth occasioned the dereliction or secret displeasure of many of his friends. So notorious was it, that the ladies at court proverbially talked of Guise. as “ the pleasing * impostor.”

The assassination of the Duke and his brother gave rise to the most alarming commotions. The city of Paris, under the controul

* Davila, who wished to palliate the faults of this nobleman, gives nearly the same character of him. See his history, under the year 1588.

of sixteen rebels, who had formed themselves into an association, in favor of the league, openly declared against the King. He was excommunicated by the Pope : the two deceased Princes of Lorraine were called martyrs to the cause of religion ; and, in a word, all France was in a state of anarchy and revolt. The Duke of Mayenne, brother to the late Duke of Guise, was at the head of the insurgents.

Henry, weak, timid, and without decision, found himself unequal to this emergency. His most faithful and judicious counsellors, among whom was our Historian himself, recommended him to have recourse to the aid of the King of Navarre, upon whose integrity and honor the firmest reliance could be placed. That generous prince, forgetting personal injuries and religious differences, hastened with an army to his succour : and the two monarchs proceeded together to besiege Paris. Preparations were made for an assault, but, on the day before it was projected,

James Clement, a fanatick monk, gained access to the King, and, as he was reading a letter which he had presented, stabbed him with a knife. The assassin immediately perished by the swords of the King's attendants; and Henry himself died of the wound, on the same night, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

“ This Prince,” says our * Historian, “ was endowed with many uncommon perfections both of mind and body; but he was in the habit of debasing them by an indolent, slothful, and voluptuous life.

“ He adhered tenaciously to the ancient religion, and was a resolute assertor of justice; he possessed great prudence, and a grave eloquence; his countenance shone with an expression of truly royal majesty, tempered with urbanity and obliging manners. One quality was pre-eminent in his character, generally an object of

* Lib. 96.

admiration, but which proved fatal to him ; he set no bounds to his profusion, and, consequently, the taxes and imposts upon the nation were immoderate. Thus he became odious to his people, and experienced little gratitude from the objects of his excessive liberality, for they attributed it to the overflowing bounty of an easy disposition, rather than to judgment.

“ His treasury being exhausted, and the minds of his subjects alienated from him, the additional circumstance of his affecting the severities of a private and monastic life, contributed to render him an object of contempt : and thus his foreign and domestic enemies were emboldened in their projects of disturbing the realm.”

Thuanus ascribes to Henry III. a rooted hatred of the Protestants, and says that he used to boast of being the adviser of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He blames the weakness of his conduct with respect to the Duke of Guise ; and continues in these terms : “ It was Henry’s

disposition to pay more regard to private attachments, than to the welfare of the state, to be the friend of others, and his own enemy. He was so liberal and profuse a benefactor, that he oppressed the modest, and wearied even the impudent by his unexpected gifts, yet never satisfied himself.

“Immersed in indolence, he attempted not easily great things; slow in deliberation from a natural dilatoriness, which bordered on infatuation rather than from fear, and too intent on the present to provide for the future, he often neglected the fittest opportunities for exertion. He was unwilling to incur danger, intrepid when actually exposed to it, and forgetful of it when past.

“In order to gratify his favourites, he opened a door to foul corruption and venality in the first offices of state; which finally proved destruction to himself. He sustained the greatest injuries from those, upon whom he had heaped honors and

A A

wealth ; and in like manner, as he had always entertained a respect and predilection for all orders of monks, he was assassinated by a monk when he least expected it. In person he was tall and upright, of a grave aspect, affable in conversation, a patient hearer, and temperate in reply ; cheerful in private society, serious in public. Upon all occasions, he manifested a fondness for pomp and shew. Nature had given him a strong and healthy constitution, but he impaired it, when young, by intemperance. He afterwards confined himself to a more regular life ; chiefly in consequence of the advice and example of * Christopher Thuanus, President of the Parliament. From that time he enjoyed good health ; but in winter, and excessively cold weather, he was observed by his attendants to be morose and melancholy." Our Historian remarks, that it was at such a season, the assassination of the Duke of Guise took place.

* Father of our Historian.

After the death of Henry III. the last monarch of the House of Valois, the King of Navarre possessed a legitimate title to the crown. The wiser and better part of the nation favoured his cause ; but he had many obstacles to encounter. The Duke of Mayenne, at the head of the remains of the league, was a formidable enemy ; and, in order to strengthen his cause, he professed to support the Cardinal of Bourbon, uncle of Henry IV. a weak old man, pretending that he had a prior claim to the throne, as Henry was a heretic. The Pope favoured the league, and (" with an arrogance and want of moderation highly unbecoming," says Thuanus, " his pastoral character,") extolled, in full consistory, the act of James Clement. Philip of Spain ranged himself on the same side, and discovered the purpose which long secretly actuated him, by proposing Isabella, his daughter by Henry III.'s sister, as Queen of France.

A succession of wars took place during

several years, before Henry IV. gained secure possession of his dominions : but his courage and conduct finally triumphed over all opposition.

“ At that time,” says Davila,* “ it was manifestly seen, what great things the resolution of one man could effect ; for the King, without money, without being supported by confederates, without friends, and, in a manner, without any towns, in a few months traversed all France, and took more strong places than there are days in the year.”

The exploits of Henry the Great, during this period, form, it is well known, the action of Voltaire's *Henriade* ; and he must be allowed to have selected a hero in every respect suited to the dignity of an epic poem :

† Qui par de longs malheurs apprit à gouverner,
Calma les factions, sut vaincre, & pardonner,

* Hist. lib. ii, an. 1590.

† *Henriade*, chant. 1. v. 3, &c.

Confondit et Mayenne, & la Ligue & L'Ibere,
Et fut de ses sujets le vainqueur & le pere.

Train'd in adversity, he learn'd to reign ;
Defeated Mayenne, and the League, and Spain :
The factious, like a parent he forgave ;
His triumph, peace—he conquered but to save.

As our Author's history was left, at his death, incomplete, it contains no account of the last years of King Henry's reign, nor a sketch of his character. There is, however, in the hundred and twenty-ninth book, the following relation of the measures pursued by him to promote the wealth and prosperity of France :

“ The King, from his natural sagacity, perceived that, as the realm had been drained by long civil wars, it needed, for the purpose of recruiting its opulence, not only a season of peace, but the benefits of a free commerce. He saw that it was necessary not merely to prohibit the exportation of coin, but to use every effort for procuring an influx of it into the country. With this design he encouraged

all French manufactures, which promised to be saleable in foreign countries, and were likely to produce a deposit of money in our own. Accordingly the growth of silk was promoted, which had now become an article of general use ; mulberry-trees were planted, by the King's order, throughout the kingdom, and the eggs of the worms were imported from Spain.

“ Henry IV. sent also to Flanders for artists skilful in weaving tapestry, and settled them at Paris ; he restored the manufactories of glass and earthenware ; and, lastly, established workshops for making linen at Mante upon the Seine.

“ In repairing and beautifying works of ancient architecture, in raising new edifices, in forming repositories for different animals, and in laying out extensive gardens, this great man continually exercised a spirit of truly royal magnificence. He thus, apparently, aspired to rival, and even to surpass the glory of his ancestor,

Francis I. and was gratified in being thought to resemble that monarch in countenance, manners, and a noble mind."

I subjoin a parallel passage from the *Memoirs of Sully*, that great man, who was at the same time a patriotic minister, and attached, by personal friendship, to his King. Thuanus was a colleague of the Duke of Sully, in many commissions appointed for the national benefit ; but the history makes, I believe, no important mention of him. The passage in question is in the twenty-first book of the memoirs of Sully, under the year 1605 :

"I shall content myself with barely mentioning, as an eternal monument of Henry's glory, the flourishing condition into which the wisdom of his government had already brought France. The foreign and domestic expenditure was regularly supplied, and no hardship was sustained by any of his subjects, either in consequence of those payments or the current

expenses of the year; although the King continued to apply very ample sums in rebuilding, furnishing, and adorning his palaces; in repairing old fortifications, and erecting new, and upon all public buildings, churches, hospitals, convents, &c.

“Plenty and affluence began now to be felt over the whole kingdom. The nobility and the army were delivered from their tyrants in the revenue; the peasant sowed and reaped in full security; the artist enriched himself by his profession; the meanest tradesman was happy in the free enjoyment of his profits; and the nobleman in the cultivation and improvement of his estates.”

The happy condition of France under this * “patriot King,” historians describe

* Henry used to wish “that every peasant in his dominions should have a fowl for dinner on Sundays.” “A trivial expression this,” says Voltaire, “but the sentiment it conveys is worthy of the father of his people.”

with peculiar complacency and delight ; and the excellence of his government was more sensibly felt, on account of the dark and stormy period which preceded it. Some obvious faults attach to Henry's character ; but as a King, great alike in peace and war, ever anxious for the happiness of his subjects, brave, sincere, open, humane and accomplished, the annals of France produce not his equal.

Contrast the character of Charlemagne ; his selfish restless ambition, attended with perfidy, and bloodshed. Obscured by such enormities, the talents of this powerful emperor, his victories, and the energies of his mind, emit a faint and gloomy lustre.

How inferior, considered in the light of a model for imitation, is such a sovereign to Henry IV. who united goodness of heart with exalted abilities, and truly deserved the name of great, as a benefactor to mankind.

The following characters are added to

this account, as farther specimens of our author's manner.

Character of Lewis Cornaro, a Venetian of noble Birth, Author of the well-known Treatise upon Health, &c.—From Thuanus, lib. 38, anno 1566.

“ Those bodily infirmities which Cornaro had contracted by juvenile intemperance, he remedied by sobriety and regular living, and by the force of reason subdued his propensity to anger and passion. Thus, though in the flower of youth he had been an invalid in body, and had no command over his mind, his old age was attended with sound health, and a mild disposition.

“ At that period of life, he wrote a treatise on the subject of his early dissipation and subsequent reform ; and what is remarkable, promises himself a very protracted existence. He was not deceived in this expectation, and outlived his hundredth year. He died at Padua, in his

favourite residence, placidly and without pain : his wife, who had attained nearly the same age, soon followed him, and they were buried, according to their desire, without pomp, in one grave."

Character of the illustrious Michael de L' Hopital, lib. 56, anno 1583.

"In this year France was deprived of some of her brightest luminaries, and of one, whose dignity is pre-eminently conspicuous. Michael de L'Hopital passed the subordinate degrees of the laws, with the highest character in point of learning, of integrity, and of judgment. He at length attained the highest situation in his profession, (*solstitium honorum*) and was appointed chancellor of France, during a most tumultuous period ; and even the factious promoted his appointment, on account of his established reputation for virtue and firmness.

" Envy, the inseparable attendant of merit, failed not to attack him. He main-

tained a long struggle against her with unshaken magnanimity, and finally, not conquered, but victorious in submission, retired with honor into the bosom of domestic tranquillity.

“ Whilst at court, he was often grieved by experiencing ingratitude, but fixed in his purpose of correcting the defects which came immediately under his professional jurisdiction, he promulgated those pure laws, which will carry the memory of their conscientious founder to all posterity.

“ He died in the seventieth year of his age, and his will, which gives a summary of his life, is an authentic memorial of the piety, patriotism, genius, wit, and prudence of this great man. His writings on the subject of law have long lain in obscurity, but they have a claim to immortality, and I trust will soon be brought forward to the public.

“ His compositions in verse have been already objects of attention to his friends,

and to me amongst others. They are worthy of antiquity in purity and terseness of style, in point, and weight of sentiment. In a word they properly exhibit the character of their author, who not only resembled Aristotle in countenance, (as the busts of both testify) but may be compared to him and all the wisest legislators of antiquity in the virtues of wisdom and integrity. Experience enabled him to add to these qualities a settled prudence, which was manifested in all his actions, both public and private."

Character of Catherine de Medicis.

Thuanus, *lib. 94, anno 1589.*

Catherine, the Queen-Mother, died in January of an inveterate dropsy ; and the disorder was aggravated by chagrin. She was a woman of insatiable mind, proud and luxurious : she fomented and allayed national commotions for a period of thirty years, and amidst the contentions and animosity of the nobility, reaped from public calamities the advantage of con-

centrating all authority in her own person. Dedicated to manly occupations she divested herself of female vices, and for the purpose of feeding her ambition, took care that the minds of her sons should be engrossed by idle and voluptuous amusements. Her administration was alike prejudicial in peace and war, from her distressing the people, as soon as they began to breathe from internal tumult, with a burden of extravagant expenditure, in order to procure new pageants of kingdoms for her sons. Astrologers had told her, that she should see all her sons kings, and that she might not have the grief of witnessing their successive promotion to the throne of France, she wished them to acquire foreign crowns.

“ She was particularly prodigal in building, and began in various places immense masses of architecture, but never finished any, from the superstitious impression that her death would immediately follow their completion. She long deluded

France by the mask of virtue; but finding her power contracted, and that others had gained an ascendancy over her son's mind, she, in despair, kindled the flames of the last war. The conflagration that ensued exceeded expectation; and, when Catherine perceived that it threatened destruction to the kingdom, and that she was an object of suspicion to the King, she began to neglect her own concerns and those of the state, either from hypocrisy, or because advanced age had brought disgust with it. From that time she contented herself with the gratifications of external parade and homage, of which the King, even in his displeasure, never deprived her.

“ She was subject to a slight fever, and the unexpected catastrophe of the Duke of Guise at Blois, and some consequent expostulation she had with the Cardinal Bourbon, affected her so much that it increased to a fatal degree. The King, with great attention, seated himself by

the side of her bed, and dictated her will, for her senses failed her at that moment.

“ She made a natural son of Charles IX. her heir, contrary to her marriage contract, and bequeathed him very ample possessions; but, as her debts were immense, much of this property came to public sale.

“ She was much addicted to judicial astrology, and had been told by those who professed the art, to beware of Saint Germain. She would never, therefore, remain long at the palace of St. Germain; and, as the Louvre is situated in a parish of the same name, she erected a magnificent mansion at immense expense, at a little distance. Notwithstanding all her precautions, the fatal name still claimed its ascendancy, and a confessor, called St. Germain, attended her during her last illness.

“ Upon his mother's decease the King, fond of parade, even in grief, besides the general court-mourning, had the tapestry

removed, and the walls of the palace assumed a representation of sorrow. A bad omen this at that crisis, (says our Historian, in his peculiar manner,) for he seemed to celebrate the obsequies not of his mother only, but of France itself."

This character of Catherine is sufficiently severe; but even * Davila, who experienced her patronage, though he praises her able policy and firmness of mind, yet allows that she was "hypocritical, after the manner of the times; prodigal of blood; and, provided she approved of any design, thought all means allowable to procure its execution."† See Davila, tom. 1, anno 1588.

* Davila received the baptismal names of "Henrico Caterino," from his two royal sponsors, Henry III. and Catherine de Medicis.

† In the second canto of the *Henriade*, is a character of Catherine, which concludes with these lines:

Esclave des plaisirs, mais moins qu'ambitieuse;
 Infidele à sa secte, et superstitieuse;
 Possédant en un mot, pour n'en pas dire plus,
 Les défauts de son sexe, & peu de ses vertus.

B B

Character of Elizabeth, Queen of England.
Thuan. lib. 129, anno 1603.

“About this time died Elizabeth, Queen of England, full of glory, and the most fortunate woman who ever filled a throne. I remember that the illustrious lady Anne, of the House of Este, mother of the Dukes of Guise and Nemours, bore this testimony to her merit, which must have been impartial, because an hostility had always subsisted between their families. She used, indeed, these very expressions to me, on the same day the news arrived, at my house, (where she paid an obliging visit with her accustomed politeness,) after the first compliments, and before she sat down.

“I forbear, in this place, to speak of the events which befel her, during the life of her sister Mary; for they have been already related. After she ascended the throne, so celebrated was her fame, that no year could pass without adding to

the renown of this great Queen, who, being destined all her life to contend with great events, performed noble actions with a masculine greatness of mind, and, according to the eulogium of the Princess of Este, with as much glory as good fortune.

“ Her genius and disposition may be described in few words. She had by nature, a lofty and masculine spirit; and when she came to the crown, in the twenty-fifth year of her age, brought no childish notions of government, but a judgment matured and exercised in adversity. She was not swayed by the opinion of others, but freely used her own talents, and united moderation with the most consummate prudence; shewing severity towards a haughty and unbridled nobility, and a mild demeanor to the rest of her subjects, so that, from the beginning of her reign she impressed fear and reverence on the minds of the aristocracy, and made herself generally popular; and such was the even tenor of her fortune, that

she experienced an unchangeable course of prosperity to the end of her life. She was munificent in the dispensation of favors, but always with a regard to justice; frugal in gifts, lest the treasury might be exhausted, and her subjects burdened, but she deserves to be praised for her foresight, rather than censured as avaricious. She enjoyed her eminence and dignity, not in the varied indulgence of amusements, but employed by those cares for futurity, which are worthy of a wise prince. She was fond of peace, yet occasionally found it necessary to arm her people; for the English are warlike, and apt to be ungovernable when long in tranquillity: thus she suffered not her subjects, though under the government of a woman, to lose any portion of their military fame. She sent auxiliary forces into Scotland and the Netherlands, and most seasonable succours to our King Henry, in his difficulties, to whom she was strongly attached. Under her auspices successful and celebrated

voyages were undertaken to the Indies; Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, and a way was discovered of invading the possessions which the Spaniards were amassing for themselves, and which the Dutch afterwards followed with equal success.

“ Almost her whole reign was peaceable; some commotions arose about the tenth year of her reign in the northern parts of the kingdom, but they were soon appeased, and then, for seventeen years, she enjoyed internal tranquillity; and, although the change of religion produced some secret enemies to her power, she preserved, during that period, a moderation, which she had by nature, free from bloodshed and cruelty, to which she afterwards seemed inclined. She made her own feelings the measure of her judgment with regard to others, and thought that violence was not to be offered to the consciences of men : *but, nevertheless, deemed it expedient to limit this indulgence, and*

not to permit this allowed freedom of conscience to disturb the public tranquillity, under the pretext of religion. As the approaching storm of conspiracy began to be felt, she gave a keener edge to the laws, following not so much the bent of her own disposition as that of her subjects, who probably feared as much for themselves as for their sovereign. She opposed strict edicts to guard against impending dangers, and, as they rather affected the possessions of men than their persons, she incurred the charge of avarice, but that odium would with more propriety have attached to her ministers.

“ One eminent instance of her good fortune appeared in the destruction of the Spanish fleet, the labor of so many years, and appointed at such immense expense, which perished more by divine interposition than by human force : and thus was ambition chastised, and the unlawful desire of invading others perished by a judgment of Providence. Philip, a prudent

Prince, was, by this stroke of misfortune, admonished to think seriously of laying aside the enmity which he had too much encouraged against Elizabeth, and, as he felt, to his own detriment. He had made peace with us, and, before he died, wished to conclude it with the English also. Elizabeth by no means rejected it, for her mind was secretly prepossessed in favor of Philip, from a sentiment of gratitude, on account of a favor conferred upon her, when she was in imminent danger, at the time when he was married to her sister Mary. This favor she used freely to acknowledge; but public animosities, and the contentions of the two nations, predominated over private gratitude. A reconciliation was attempted to be brought about by the mediation of the French King, a proper place of accommodation was fixed in one county for the purpose, and a conference of delegates appointed; but the design proved abortive.

“ The Queen of England possessed a facility in learning, and an attachment to science. She understood Latin, and spoke it readily, German also she was well instructed in, particularly as being the source of her vernacular language ; she conversed frequently in French, but with a bad accent ; in Italian with great elegance. She took great delight in music and poetry, and was much captivated by the verses of our countryman, Ronsard, whom she once saw in England as he was returning from Scotland, and he then composed a pleasing copy of verses in her praise. She afterwards conceived some displeasure towards him on account of a free jest concerning her marriage, inserted in some elegant verses of his, entitled “ Nubes ;” and she said, that it did not become a man of noble birth, wantonly and scurrilously to asperse a powerful Queen, who was his friend, and to collect the rumours which malignity had

forged against her character. When Ronsard understood this, he repented, and suppressed the verses; but they were added to his works by his friends after he was dead, and the danger of offence was no more.

“ Religious animosity cast many aspersions on Elizabeth, which the even tenor of a long life, accompanied to its close by the inscrutable blessing of Providence, tended, in a great measure, to confute. She seemed to wish to be courted and flattered for her beauty, and to seem sensible to the incense of love even in her declining years. This mode of relaxation from severer cares revived at her court the memory of those fabled islands, inhabited by errant knights and brave men, who, in the cause of love, divesting the passion of its impurity, continually exercised themselves in generous acts of virtue and valor, But if she thus somewhat injured her reputation, she by no means impaired the

dignity of the sovereign, nor suffered the helm of government to be turned from its just direction. She was all her life averse to marriage, and those about her person suggested, through her physicians, that there was danger of her not surviving child-birth, with a view of maintaining their power over her; yet she seriously thought of wedding the Duke of Alençon, and the matter was nearly brought to a conclusion.

“ Conscious of innate merit, she seemed to wish to borrow nothing from fortune and her royal station, but to possess a fund of greatness in the qualities of her own mind, and in a private and moderate station would have been an object of praise and veneration. It has been surmised that she was fond of life, and thought, with pain, of death and a successor: yet many years before her decease, she used pleasantly to call herself an old woman, as in her youth she termed herself a virgin. It is certain that, in giving

directions for an inscription on her monument, she wished only her name to be mentioned, that she had lived a Virgin Queen, the length and prosperity of her reign, and her attachment to religion and to peace. Neither was she negligent in appointing a successor, or careless of the opinion of posterity : for the subject being alluded to in discourse, she once, after a profound reverie, started from her seat, and said she knew her place would not be left vacant for a moment ; which eventually proved true.

“ It was considered part of her felicity to transmit her kingdom in peace to the legitimate heir, and to leave peace as a kind of legacy to her people.

“ In a word, Elizabeth possessed virtues becoming the manly character, and therefore suited to a great king ; and she had few failings, and such as, considering her sex, are excusable. Some ill-will attached to her on account of religion, and she suffered under an imputation of cruelty ;

but time will be her best panegyrist, and probably never has produced, or will produce, a woman superior to her. Her stature was tall and commanding; her health good, and she felt few of the inconveniences of old age. A tranquil death, like that of Augustus, completed her fortunate life: she suffered no pain of mind or body; but her nerves became stiff, and her voice and intelligence failed. She died at Richmond in the 70th year of her age, and 45th of her reign."

After a perusal of about thirty books of Thuanus's work, I am inclined to think that there would be only one, but at the same time, perhaps an insurmountable obstacle to its becoming popular in a translation; I mean its prolixity. It is, I believe, the longest history extant. M. le Gendre, author of a history of France, computes that a person, who should give his attention to it for four hours a day, would not finish the perusal in twelve months: and he with justice adds, that,

as it comprehends the events of only 64 years, it is too voluminous.

Minute occurrences are related in a circumstantial manner ; and the author's style is upon all occasions very redundant. The tree flourishes, but its fruit is impoverished by an exuberance of leaves and branches. The precept of Horace * is no less applicable to compositions in prose, than to poetry :

Close be your language ; let your sense be clear ;
Nor with a weight of words fatigue the ear.

FRANCIS.

It cannot be expected that a modern writer of Latin should rival the Roman classics ; but our Historian's style has much peculiar merit. It is entirely original, and his own, free from affected imitation, correct, equable, and flows with

* Est brevitæ opus, ut currat sententiæ ; ne se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.

Hor. lib. 1, Sat. 10, v. 9.

copious and dignified eloquence. It is also plain and perspicuous ; and the reader has seldom occasion to re-consider a sentence, in order to understand it, except from its length.

Thuanus gives what may be termed a microscopic view of history ; and treats his subject accurately and distinctly in its parts, rather than comprehensively as a whole. He makes few reflections, and, for the most part, leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions from the facts before him. Many accounts of sieges, battles, embassies, public acts, and other matters, he apparently derived from persons who bore a part in them. Hence he details them with a minuteness of information, which is amusing and instructive, and forms a characteristic feature of his work. His history may be considered as a safe and ample repository of the memorials of past times : but those parts of it, which relate to foreign nations, are sometimes tedious and indistinct.

His fidelity and candor have been the theme of continual praise. The cotemporary historians, Sully and Davila, appear to agree with his general statement of the affairs of France. Davila, the advocate of the Catholics, is evidently embarrassed with some parts of his subject, particularly the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Voltaire never mentions our author without commendation: he wrote an animated defence of him, in reply to some observations of a M. Buri, who, in a life of Henry IV. accused Thuanus of pedantry.

Our author's preface has been placed in the same rank with two compositions of a similar kind, written by Calvin and Casaubon. Calvin's dedication of his "Institutes," to Francis the First, is chiefly remarkable for an austere spirit of religion, strongly expressed. Casaubon's preface to his Polybius is indeed written with peculiar elegance of style, and his critiques, on the subject of the ancient classical historians, are deservedly

celebrated. But if a comparison were instituted, I believe Thuanus would be found superior to both in mildness, sincerity, good sense, and a most happy union of freedom and moderation.

Perhaps in that passage, where he professes his readiness to abide by the king's judgment of his work, the reader, who considers the length of it, may be inclined to smile at his simplicity, in supposing that his writings were capable of inspiring Majesty with a perseverance in study, adequate to the task of perusal.

To praise Thuanus as a good writer and a faithful historian, is to mention not the most important part of his merit. He was a man of principle and a Christian : and probably never wrote a line, which from its moral tendency, he could wish at his decease to be obliterated. He discovers in every page, a desire * of discountenancing vice, and of promoting the best

* Cowper's Letters.

interests of mankind." Yet, in censuring licentiousness, his language is temperate, and he is of too pure a mind to enter, as some satyrists have done, into its disgusting detail. In a word, the observation which his friend Rigaltius makes with regard to his conversation and society, may be applied to his writings ; namely, " that they are calculated to render those, who attend to them, better and wiser men."

THE PREFACE
OF
THUANUS;
OR,
DEDICATION OF HIS HISTORY
TO
HENRY IV.

c c 2

DEDICATION
TO
HENRY IV.
THE
MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

SIRE,

WHEN the design of writing a history of these times first engaged my thoughts, it did not escape me that such a work, however executed, would be exposed to various censures; but I knew that ambition was not my motive, and consoled myself with the reward to be derived only from a good conscience. I hoped also that, in proportion as time gradually abated personal animosities, a love of truth might succeed, especially under the government of your Majesty; who, by the signal favor of Providence, after crushing the monstrous brood of re-

bellion, and extinguishing faction in its embers, have given peace to France, and at the same time united liberty and regal power, two things usually thought incompatible.

The ^apassions of aspiring men then formed a constant source of civil war, and all hopes of peace were excluded from the public councils of the realm. Such a conjuncture I lamented for the sake of my country, but it appeared propitious to the historian, who, avoiding detraction, wished to write with freedom. On this point, however, my sentiments have altered with the times. I was induced, as I

^aThe faction of the League, with the Duke of Guise at its head, formed first of all against the Protestants in 1575, and which afterwards opposed the king himself, Henry III.

Des Guises cependant le rapide bonheur
Sur son abaissement élevait leur grandeur ;
Ils formaient dans Paris, cette ligue fatale,
De sa foible puissance orgueilleuse rivale.

Henriade, canto 1. v. 40.

have said, to begin to write in camps, in the midst of sieges and the noise of arms, when my mind was engrossed by the variety and importance of events, and sought, in composition, a relief from public calamity. My work has been continued and completed in your Majesty's court, amongst the oppressive labours of the law, foreign journies, and other avocations; and, upon reflection, I have become apprehensive that what might have pleased; or at least have been excused in tumultuous times, may now give less satisfaction, and even offend certain morose persons. For, by the infirmity of our nature, we are more inclined to do ill, than to hear of what we have ill done.

It is the first law of history to fear to record what is false, and, in the next place, not to want courage in relating the truth. And I can affirm that I have taken sincere pains to discover, to extricate, to display the truth, when obscured or buried under party contentions, and on all occa-

sions to deliver it with unblemished integrity to posterity. I should have been ashamed to prevaricate in a cause so honorable, and through an absurd affectation of prudence, do injustice to the singular happiness of your Majesty's times, in which every one is allowed to think what he pleases, and to speak what he thinks.

4. With respect to myself, I trust all who know me (and I have not lived in obscurity) know how far I am from dissimulation. Since, by your Majesty's clemency, we have been all restored to favor, I have utterly discarded all sense of any private injuries, and may, with justice, be confident that no person, however prejudiced, will accuse me of want of candor and temper, in all that relates to past transactions. I may appeal to the testimony of those very persons, whose names occur often in these books, who have always found me ready to do them all honorable service, according to the extent of the powers, entrusted to me by your Majesty.

What upright judges ought to do in determining of the fortunes and lives of men, that I have done in this work, interrogating myself at different times, whether or not any personal pique might operate to give my opinion a wrong bias. I have sometimes covered the harshness of actions with gentle expressions, continually repressed my own judgment, and abstained from digressions. Lastly I have aimed to acquire a plain and simple style, the image of a mind averse from vain and ostentatious ornament, equally free from asperity and adulation.

In return I request of my readers to lay aside private prejudices, and forbear to decide upon my history, until they have perused it with attention.

The undertaking is perhaps beyond my abilities; and my imperfections will be manifest on many occasions. But the public good, and an ardent desire to merit the good opinion of mine own age and of posterity have so far prevailed, that I had

rather be thought wanting in caution, than in my affection for their service. •

I am not so much in pain about my fidelity, of which I am thoroughly conscious. My industry, too, has been such, as will perhaps meet with indulgence from your Majesty, and the candid reader. But what unfortunately constitutes the greatest part of my work, will, I fear, prove offensive and unpalatable to many, who, being removed (as they think) from danger in their own persons, want both feeling and justice, in estimating the calamities of others.

5. I allude to the religious ^bdissensions, which, in addition to other evils, have infested this corrupt age. This malady has for a century afflicted the Christian world, and will continue to afflict it, unless seasonable remedies, and therefore different from such as have been hitherto used, be applied by those whose province it is.

^b Between the Romanists and Protestants.

Experience has taught us, that fire and sword, exile and proscription, rather irritate than heal the distemper, that has its seat in the mind. These only affect the body; but judicious and edifying doctrine, gently instilled, descends into the heart.

Other things are regulated at the discretion of the civil magistrate, and consequently of the sovereign. Religion alone is not subject to command, but is infused into well prepared minds from a pre-conceived opinion of the truth, with the concurrence of divine grace. Tortures have no influence over her: in fact, they rather tend to make men obstinate, than to subdue or persuade them. What the stoics boasted, with so much parade, of their wisdom, applies with far more justice to religion. Affliction and pain have no power over the religious man. All misfortunes are overborne, and vanish before the virtuous resolution, which that pre-conceived opinion inspires. Confiding in the support of God's grace, he is con-

tent to suffer; and the ills, to which mortality is liable, he takes to himself without complaint.

He knows and glories in his strength. Let the executioner stand before him; let him prepare tortures, whet the knife, and kindle the pile, he will still persevere: and his mind will dwell, not upon what he is to endure, but upon the part which it behoves him to act. His happiness is within his own bosom, and whatever assails him outwardly is trivial, and only grazes the surface of the body. Even Epicurus, whom other philosophers accused of impurity, says of his wise-man, that, if burning in the bull of Phalaris, he would exclaim, "It is pleasant, and does not affect me in the least." Now can we suppose that those persons had less courage, who perished by torture, a hundred years ago, for their religious opinions? And would not the same cause inspire the same resolution, in times to come?

Consider the conduct of one of them when bound to the stake. He began with bended knees to sing an hymn, regardless of the smoke and flames: and when the executioner would have set fire to the pile behind him, "Come hither," said he, "and kindle it before my face; if I could have felt any dread, I should have avoided coming to this place."

Tortures therefore by no means repress the ardor of innovators in religion: but their minds are rather hardened by them, to suffer and attempt more. From the ashes of those who perished, others arose; and as their numbers encreased, patience was converted into fury. Those who had been suppliants for mercy, began to expostulate, to make demands with importunity: those who had fled from punishment, now boldly betook themselves to arms.

France has now witnessed this visitation for forty years, and the Netherlands nearly as long. The evil is become so

aggravated, that it cannot now be rooted out, as it perhaps might have been originally, by one or two public acts of punishment. It has pervaded whole countries, whole nations, and in fact the greater part of Europe: and now, not the secular arm of the magistracy, but the sword of the Lord only can avail. Mild persuasion and amicable conference may still conciliate those, whom force cannot subdue.

St. Augustin writing to Proculianus, one of the followers of Donatus, was of this mind, and even entreated the Proconsul of Africa for those sectaries, that they might not be put to death. It became, he said, the professors of the true religion, never to recede from the purpose of overcoming evil with good. He tells Cæcilianus that fanaticism is a tumor, which it is better to suppress by terror, than forcibly to cut away. And in his celebrated letter to Boniface is this passage. "In cases of

^c Tribune with authority in Africa. St. Augustin was born in Africa about A. D. 350, and died in 430.

serious discussion, when the public tranquillity is endangered, it is proper to relax from severe discipline, and to invoke the healing influence of charity."

This opinion was transcribed more than once into ^dGratian's decree. The mild and pious father, averse to harsh and imperious measures, thought more was gained by teaching than commanding, by admonition than by threats. When the number of offenders is small, he admits that rigour may be judicious: but then it should be administered with evident regret and grief of heart, and the dread of punishment inculcated from the Scriptures; that so

He was famous for his genius, and voluminous writings, which are still extant in ten volumes folio. The sect of the Donatists arose in Africa, in the 4th century, in consequence of a struggle between the churches for the election of a Bishop. Their chief peculiar tenet consisted in pronouncing all churches but their own impure and erroneous. The Donatists (so called from their leader Donatus) opposed the election of Cæcilianus, probably the same person, who is mentioned in the text. See Fleury's Eccles. Hist. tom. 5, p. 363 and 461.

^d The Roman Emperor.

the magistrates may not be feared for their own power, but God himself appear terrible in their ministration. This he says in his letter to Bishop^e Aurelius.

In a word, it must be acknowledged that the records of sacred antiquity afford no example, to sanction the capital punishment of heretics. The primitive Church abhorred blood-shed; and if it sometimes took place, the truly pious bishops always expressed a sincere detestation of such severity. This appeared in the instance of Priscillian, a preacher of heretical and pernicious doctrine, throughout France, and especially in Guienne. Maximus, (who, after killing Gratian at Lyons, usurped the

* Bishop of Carthage.

† Priscillian was a Spaniard by birth. He maintained the Manichæan errors, with some alteration; but his peculiar tenet was "That it is lawful for a man to make false oaths, in support of his religious interests." See Fleury, tom. 4, p. 460 and 528, who uses the same words with Thuanus, from Sulpicius Severus. For an account of this *first civil* persecution, and the base character of Ithacius, see Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 428, and Sulpicius Severus. lib. 8, p. 448, Leyden. Ed.

empire, but was, in other respects, a good prince) put him to death with his followers at Treves, A. D. 383 ; although St. Martin had drawn a promise from him that their lives should be spared, and had admonished Itacius and others to desist from instigating the Emperor to this deed. The rest of the bishops also disallowed it ; Itacius withdrew himself for fear of scandal. But he was condemned by Theognistus ; and St. Martin, not without great difficulty, and upon extreme necessity, prevailed upon himself to hold communion with the Itacian faction : St. Ambrose, who was sent (by the young Emperor Valentinian, brother of the deceased Gratian) to Maximus upon that account, testifies in his relation, that when at Treves, he forbore any intercourse with those bishops who communicated with Itacius, and demanded the death of all who went astray from the faith.

‡ The truly Apostolical Bishop of Tours.

D D

In compliance with the advice of those furious bishops, Maximus afterwards resolved to send Inquisitors into Spain with full power to try Heretics, and deprive the guilty of life and estate. But the same St. Martin by his importunity, extorted a repeal of this decree. This pious man's concern extended to the deliverance, not only of the Christians, who upon that occasion would suffer trouble, but even of the Heretics themselves. He foresaw, that such a storm, if not diverted, would end in the dispersion of a great number of holy persons ; and that little discrimination would be made, when people were singled out by sight alone, and judged to be Heretics by the paleness of their countenance, or the singularity of their garb, rather than by any peculiar profession of faith.

After the death of Priscillian what occurred ? The heresy, which he had propagated, far from being suppressed, received strength, and spread more widely.

Those who had honored him as a saint, now venerated him as a martyr; the bodies of the slain were carried back into Spain, and their funerals celebrated with pompous obsequies. Nay, so great was the superstition, that to swear by Priscillian was considered a most sacred obligation. From thence a strife broke out amongst the bishops of the Gallican Church, which flamed for fifteen years, and the remains of it were with difficulty extinguished long afterwards; the flock of Christ, in the mean time, and the best men being every where exposed to scorn and reproach.

7. I never read the account of those times in ^hSulpicius Severus, who wrote the transactions of that age with equal elegance and fidelity, but the scenes of my childhood recur to my mind, during the

^h This ecclesiastical historian flourished at the beginning of the fifth century, and has been styled the Christian Sallust.

first religious commotions in France. At that time men were not judged by their manners, or the innocency of their past life, but suspected from their countenances or cloaks; and from thence marked out by the eye for slaughter. The flaming zeal, the malignity of factions, tore the kingdom to pieces, and endangered religion itself, while our rulers added not a little to these evils by partiality, fear, inconstancy, lethargy, sloth, and arrogance.

8. From the æra of St. Martin downwards, more lenity has been shewn to schismatics. They have suffered banishment, or pecuniary mulcts, but their lives have always been spared. In the year 1060, when the followers of ⁱBerengarius spread his doctrine in some part of the Netherlands, Bruno, Archbishop of Treves, contented himself with expelling them from his diocese.

ⁱ Berengarius denied the real presence in the Eucharist.

This mild system prevailed till the time of the ^k Vaudois. Persecution had then no effect ; but the wound rankled under this improper treatment. The number of sectaries daily encreased; complete armies were raised by their party ; and at length, a crusade, no less important than that which our ancestors headed against the Saracens, was decreed against them. What ensued ? They were defeated, put to flight, slain, spoiled of property, and honors, but they were not so convinced of their error as to be brought to a sound mind. By arms they defended themselves—by arms they were subdued, and, fleeing into Provence, and the Alps bordering upon France, found there an asy-

^k Peter Waldus, an opulent merchant of Lyons, founded this sect, A. D. 1160. Having procured a translation of the gospels, he from thence discovered the degeneracy of the prevailing religion. He denied the Pope's supremacy, and his tenets were, in other respects, similar to those which Luther afterwards promulgated.

lum for their lives and opinions. Part retired to Calabria, and kept themselves there even till the pontificate of ¹ Pius IV. Some passed into Germany, and others found a refuge in England. From the remnant of this sect, John Wicliff is supposed to have sprung. He taught long at Oxford; and, about three hundred years ago, after many religious contentions, died there a natural death. The secular punishment only affected his dead body; and, long after his decease, his bones were publicly burnt.

9. A succession of contests continued until our own age, in which, after an unhappy attempt at punishment, what began in dissension terminated in open war and revolt in Germany, England, and France. A schism being thus made and confirmed, and too long neglected by those who could and ought to have remedied it, it is uncertain whether the public tranquillity,

¹ A. D. 1566.

or religion itself, has been the greater sufferer.

I do not wish to revive the old question of punishing heretics. That controversy would ill suit my time of life or condition. But I am desirous to shew that those princes have acted with prudence, and, conformably to the institutions of the ancient church, who have judged it right to appease religious contests even upon disadvantageous terms, rather than suppress them by force of arms.

^m Ferdinand, a wise prince, observed this. From experience in important and dangerous wars under his brother, Charles V. in Germany, he learnt that hostilities against the Protestants always failed of success. As soon as he entered upon his auspicious reign, he secured the peace of religion by a solemn decree; and confirmed it by repeated sanctions. Considering

^m King of Hungary, and afterwards successor to Charles V. on the imperial throne.

that the interests of religion were most advanced by friendly discussions (of which method he had made frequent trials at the diets holden under his brother at Ratisbon and Worms). A little before his death, after the close of the council of Trent, he desired to give satisfaction to the Protestants, who had not repaired to it, and designed, by the advice of his son Maximilian, a most prudent prince, to institute a new conference with them. For this purpose he selected George Cassander, a learned and moderate man, who was, in an amicable manner, to reconsider the controverted articles of the Augustan confession with the pastors of the other party. Unfortunately, the ill health of this excellent man, and the precipitate deaths of him and Ferdinand, deprived Germany of the happy fruits, which might have been expected from these plans.

The nobles of Poland, after the example of the Germans, followed the same course afterwards in their republic.

Emanuel Philibert, indeed, Duke of Savoy, when, under favor of the peace concluded with France, he had regained the possession of his ancient dominions, whether to raise his reputation in Italy, or to gratify others even at his own expense, involved himself in a ruinous contest with the ^a *Convallenses*. But, perceiving his error, he amended it by timely repentance, allowed the people, otherwise innocent, religious freedom, and never afterwards disturbed it.

10. The progress of events brings me now to our own times: and I am preparing to handle a sore, barely to touch which, I fear, will be to my prejudice. But since I have entered on this topic, I will dismiss it in one word, and ingenuously say, (under your Majesty's reign this may be done) that war is not the legitimate mode of removing schism from the church,

^a The remnant of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont.

Is it not true that the Protestants amongst us, whose credit and numbers sunk every day during peace, always gained strength in the midst of arms and discord ? ° And certainly the fomenters of these bloody contests, (so often undertaken—so often compromised) whether actuated by mistaken zeal, or by private views, have committed a most pernicious error to the misfortune of France, and the hazard of religion. Why should I say more ? The facts speak loudly for themselves. After various disturbances, and the consequent sacking of innumerable cities, the peace of 63, like the sun breaking forth after storms, diffused a serene calm throughout the land. How joyful was that interval of four years to all good men, by the security of religion, and the

° Father Paul computes that in the Netherlands alone 50,000 persons perished by different tortures, for the sake of religion. And he subjoins, that the progress of the new opinions was rather forwarded than checked by these precautions.

care of a most upright ^pjudge in framing those excellent laws, of which France will never have reason to repent. But our good fortune declined; we began to grow weary of the public safety, so well settled by those laws, and rejecting pacific councils; inclined to a war, which proved fatal, not only to us, but in the end to those who have advised it. The persons I allude to will be known by those, who are acquainted with what passed at the unfortunate conference of ^qBayonne. From that time, deluded by foreign intrigues, we bent our thoughts to artifice and hostility. At that juncture

^p The Chancellor de l'Hopital is probably meant.

^q In 1564, Charles IX. then about fourteen years of age, was taken by his mother, Catherine de Medicis, through the different provinces of his kingdom. At Bayonne they met the King and Queen of Spain, and there it is thought a scheme was formed by Catherine and the Duke of Alva, and the Guises, to extirpate the heads of the Protestant party. See Hume, Elizabeth, ch. 39.

also the Duke of Alva was sent into the Netherlands with a powerful army, after the abdication of ^rMargaret of Parma, who had governed those provinces with the greatest moderation. He carried fire and sword with him ; built citadels in all places ; gave a death blow to liberty by the imposition of unusual taxes : in a word, every thing was thrown into confusion ; and the most opulent cities, oppressed by an intolerable yoke, wasted away, like strong bodies drained of nutriment. These cruel and headstrong measures were followed by the despair, and lastly, by the revolt of the people ; and, in the issue, the chief and most considerable part of the provinces, and that which was

^r Margaret, Duchess of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. and sister to Philip II. King of Spain, by whom she was appointed regent of the Netherlands, in 1560. After endeavouring to check the persecution of the unfortunate people, she resigned in 1569. The merciless tyranny of the Duke of Alva followed, at the command of the bigoted Philip.

most commodious for navigation, (which is their great support) separated itself from the rest. It is now governed by the authority of the states, and has long carried on war with success, not only against the other part, but against the combined force of Spain.

Francis Baldwin of Arras, a celebrated civilian of our age, had long before advised the chief lords of the Netherlands to present a petition to Philip in behalf of the Protestants; that the severity of capital punishments and of the Inquisition might be remitted. He had also written a book in French, proving that by conferences and an impartial distribution of justice to dissenters, religious controversies might be brought to a better conclusion than by violence and arms. If they proceeded in these measures, he foretold that the power of the Protestants, at that time feeble and dispersed, would be concentrated, and war and defection would succeed to verbal contentions.

This presage of a Fleming, concerning Flemish affairs, I more willingly relate to your Majesty, because, after having embraced the Protestant faith in the beginning of life, he was induced by a diligent perusal of the fathers to change his opinions. But instead of being transported (as is the general case) with implacable hatred towards those whom he had left, he preserved constant moderation, and afforded a signal lesson to this age of Christian charity. From a sense of his own error he felt compassion for others, and took all pains that the offences committed through rashness and a love of novelty, might be industriously corrected by reviving the memory of sounder antiquity. Returning from Germany into France, he easily gained the approbation of your most serene^r father to his equally prudent and pious proposal, and held an honourable place in his family ; being admitted sometimes to council, and intrust-

^r Anthony de Bourbon.

ed with the tuition of your Majesty's natural brother.

12. Away therefore with those impertinent boasts in which some persons have indulged themselves to the scandal of the French name, because they have admitted no peace with Heretics. O the extraordinary love which they bear to religion! —Admirable counsellors, behold your triumph in the loss of many^a flourishing provinces, behold it in the wreck of your estates miserably swallowed up with them, and lament over your own work. —How glad would these persons now be to adopt wisdom from our example, which then they so artfully pretended to detest? At what price would they not redeem the

^a It is probable that France would have been in a more deplorable situation, than when the English possessed one half, and the nobles separately tyrannized over the other. The Duke of Mayenne had Burgundy, the Duke of Guise Rheims, and part of Champagne, the Duke of Mercœur ruled in Brittany, &c.—See Voltaire, Hist. Gen. tom. 4, p. 369.

waste of so many years, in the course of which, by judicious policy, the common enemies of 'Christendom might have been expelled with equal glory and advantage, out of Hungary and both the Mauritanias.

13. But I am not without apprehension, that impartial judges may discover in us that imprudence, of which we complain in the present instance. Intemperate zeal, or pernicious counsels, gave occasion on our part to the most grievous excesses. Cities were sacked, churches (which the rage of the first commotions had spared) rased to the ground, and provinces desolated. Enmity and suspicion, which had been appeased by the short interval of tranquillity, were on all sides inflamed, and arms laid down only to be resumed with fiercer animosity. Yet after

¹ The Turks had greatly extended their power, under the mighty Sultan Solyman in Hungary, and under Barbarossa and Hascen in Africa. See Robertson's history of Charles V. under the year 1641.

all these things "peace was at length concluded again, and the more joy it produced, with so much greater iniquity (may it be buried in eternal oblivion!) was it violated by the "massacre, two years after; in which you, Sire, whom God had long before destined to be the restorer of France, narrowly escaped destruction.

To those who escaped this "Caphareus, within the space of two years other rocks occurred, upon which the same imprudence suffered shipwreck. The wrath of God tarried but little, and inflicted vengeance on an offending land by the death of a generous Prince,^z who erred more by

^u In 1569. From 1548 to 1569—during the reigns of Henry II. Francis II. and Charles IX. the most dreadful civil wars raged in France.

^x It took place on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1572.

^y A dangerous rock, on the Eubœan shore, where part of the Grecian navy was wrecked, on its return from Troy. *Euboicæ cautes, ultorque Caphareus.*

Virg. Æn. 11, 260.

^z Charles IX. died in 1574, May 30th, in the 24th year of his age, and the 14th of his reign. His blood

the fault of others, than by any evil propensity of his own. What was the conduct of his successor? Upon his return from Poland, rejecting the salutary counsels of the Emperor Maximilian, and the Venetian Senate, (by whom he was entertained in his journey) he began his reign with a war, which they dissuaded, and which the Protestants humbly deprecated at his hands. He had leisure to repent of these measures, and, three years afterwards, framed the edict of pacification, which he was accustomed to call peculiarly his own. For seven years there was a profound peace, with only some few accidental interruptions from the ravages of the soldiery. Then certain persons, impatient of rest, and provoked that

issued through all his pores, an extraordinary malady, occasioned, it is said, from a vitiation of the liver, by blowing the horn constantly in hunting. Catherine de Medicis, his mother, niece of Pope Clement VII. was the chief of his evil counsellors.

* Henry III. of the branch of Valois. He had been chosen king of Poland.

the country, from its flourishing state, should be able to dispense with their services, excited at an unseasonable time a mortal war. The ill-advised ^b King, by a fatal blindness, suffered himself to be forced into it by his courtiers; and the peril, which was at first directed in appearance against your Majesty, afterwards recoiled on himself.

My mind shudders at the recollection of the detestable parricide, which will be an eternal disgrace to the French name, and which ended in the infamy of those who rejoiced in it. It would have involved the kingdom and religion itself in inextricable ruin, unless Providence, (always watching over our safety) had reserved your Majesty to be our deliverer.

^b Henry III. was at first seduced to join *the league* against the Protestants, but afterwards united with the King of Navarre, when the Duke of Guise was discovered to be aiming at the throne,

^c Henry III. was assassinated the 12th of August, 1589, by James Clement, a fanatic monk, it is thought by the instigation of the League.

You, Sire, stood forth the pillar of the tottering state; and by your virtue stopped the precipitate course of public calamity, which bore all before it, like a wheel rolling down a steep descent.

Your Majesty afforded, in your own person, an illustrious proof of the truth of what I have stated, that though all other things are subject to human laws, religion cannot be commanded. During all the calamities with which you had struggled from a child in the midst of those civil wars, in which you had been surrounded by many hostile armies at the same time; during so many defeats, partly given and partly received (for to conquer and be conquered were then equally disastrous) you always persisted in your resolution, and bravely maintained your ground, unshaken by allurements or terror. But at the moment when you perceived all things yielding to your merit, you voluntarily complied with the entreaties of your friends; and submitting to be arrested in the

career of victory, with the concurrence of the Divine Grace, devoted yourself to the religion of your ancestors.^d

15. Your Majesty then exercised that moderation and lenity, the benefit of which you had in your own person experienced. The edicts published against the Protestants, contrary to the will of your predecessor, were revoked, and after making peace at home and abroad with great honor, you confirmed two decrees successively made in their favor by a third, which reinstated them in their estates and good name. Many were advanced to the first places of dignity : and you judged that thus concord would be more commodiously cemented, and the ferment in the minds of men subsiding, the clouds of passion and prejudice would disperse, and they would discern what is the best, that is, the most ancient religious constitution.

^d Henry renounced the Protestant religion, July 25th, 1593.

16. Of old the good fathers of the church acted thus, towards those who went astray in consequence of depraved opinions, or inflamed by secret rancour, that they might shew themselves to be influenced by charity, not by a desire of conquest. St. Augustin every where calls the Pelagians *brethren*: Optatus, Bishop of Milevi, stiles the Donatists *brethren*. Before them St. Cyprian declared it to be his wish, study, and advice, that, if possible, none of the *brethren* might perish; and that the Church, a joyful mother, might enfold all her accordant sons in one embrace.

17. Many who differ from us are secretly resolved (to use the very words of St. Augustin), to come back again, when the storm shall be passed. But, if it continues, or if they fear that their return may occasion another, and perhaps a worse calamity, they will naturally retain a disposition to help the weaker part, and defend to death (without resorting to separate

conventicles) the known doctrine of the Catholic Church. For the sake of the church's peace, they will bear patiently injuries and insults ; and give an example with what affection and sincerity of charity God ought to be served.

18. Taught, therefore, by experience, and your Majesty's example, I have abstained from opprobrious language, and have always made honorable mention of the Protestants, especially those who excelled in learning. Neither have I concealed the faults of our own party ; for I think, as the best men have thought, that the manifold heresies, which agitate the world at this day, have gathered strength,

* " It would have been easy to restrain the Protestants. Such had been always the advice of the wisest heads, of such men as a Chancellor de L'Hopital, a Paul de Foix, a Christopher de Thou (father of the historian who unites eloquence and veracity), of a Pibrac, a Harley. But the favorites thought to gain by the war, and promoted it." Voltaire, *Hist. Gen.* vol. 4, p. 338.

not more from the malice and intrigues of their supporters, than from our vices.

19. By one mode both these evils, the error of dissenters and the vices of our own people, may be provided against : namely, by banishing the scandalous practice of corruption from church and state, and bestowing the direction of spiritual matters upon men of piety, erudition, and approved morals, who have already given proofs of moderation and prudence : by giving virtue its due reward, and by conferring honors, not through favor or purchase, not upon novices, but on men of tried integrity, who fear God and detest covetousness, and come recommended by merit alone.

When the good and bad are indiscriminately admitted to equal advantages, no peace can have long duration : no state but must fall to decay, if the governors cannot discern between honest and wicked men, and (according to the proverb) suffer those advantages to be inter-

cepted by drones, which ought to be enjoyed by the industrious bees.

Nothing is so prejudicial to the duty, which we, who hold any magistracy or office of trust, owe to God, and, after God, to your Majesty and the people submitted to your rule, as a lust of sordid lucre. From hence, if we at first derive our commissions, it may well be feared, that we shall in time be entirely devoted to this base passion, and that mercenary traffic will be the pole-star of our thoughts; till, blinded by avarice, we cast off all honesty, and violate our fidelity to God and man. Covetousness is a wild head-strong beast, neither to be endured nor satiated. Add to the immense wealth of France the golden mountains of Persia, and the treasures of both the Indies, all would fail to satisfy its ravenous appetite.

Vices know no mean; they rush headlong in their career, nor cease but with utter extinction.

On the contrary, virtue (according to the saying of Simonides) is like a cube, compact and steady to resist every motion of fortune, and all human vicissitudes. Self-balanced and content, she accommodates herself to nature (which diversifies the conditions of mankind), and preserves the temper of the soul free and uncontaminated.

If proper honor and value be assigned to this quality, which forms the characters I have been describing, there will be enough to bestow on the deserving, without burden to the treasury, and with alleviation to the people.

20. That the same may take place in the Church, if it is not your Majesty's province absolutely to effect, yet is it an object worthy of royal solicitude, to press, to entreat, to interpose your authority with those whose business it is, that it be not neglected. O may your Majesty make this new field of glory your own; and reflect that we cannot hope long to

enjoy these happy moments of ease, the gift of God, unless we heartily apply ourselves to magnify his honor, and to compose religious dissensions.

21. I seem, perhaps, to propose a great matter, and, in the judgment of some, (who through love of the present, hate to think of salutary provisions for the future) not hastily at this time to be undertaken. But of great cares great is the reward; and superior genius, such as Heaven has bestowed upon your Majesty, is not to be occupied by trifles.

Certainly after the stop * put to the licentiousness of profusion and rapacity, and the proportioning every man's domestic expense to his circumstances (upon which accounts France owes and will still continue to owe more to your Majesty, than can be expressed) you can attempt nothing more becoming the high station you adorn, than the reduction of the civil and

* The prosecution of extortioners, and those guilty of embezzling the public money. See Sully's *Mémoires*, lib. 21. anno, 1605.

spiritual laws (which the intestine troubles of so many years have thrown into confusion) to order and regularity. These fruits will follow, that, the divine wrath being pacified, by the cordial labours of Bishops and Magistrates in their several functions, truth will prevail over falsehood, candor and sincere charity over deceit and hypocrisy, and the laws over covetousness and luxury, which two opposite vices an age perverse in wickedness has contrived to unite. Good morals will flourish with chastity and modesty, which have been hitherto exposed to ridicule; in fine, merit being restored to its due honor, the value, lustre, and influence of money will be seen to decrease.

This is your Majesty's wish, for I have heard you declare, that you would purchase such felicity to the kingdom even with the loss of your limbs. This is the wish of all your Majesty's true friends; and such are my sentiments concerning the welfare of the country.

22. If I have expatiated with freedom and at length on this topic, your Majesty will regard with indulgence a modest man, and one educated in that liberty, the restoration of which we owe to your Majesty. I thought it expedient at the beginning of my work to guard against calumny, and to soften malignity, and trust this will be my excuse for detaining your Majesty with a long discourse.

23. I thought that what has been already said, would have been sufficient for the excuse or vindication of my work ; but behold I am admonished by my friends, that there are not wanting persons, who will contend, that an exact enumeration of particulars relating to our liberties, immunities, laws, and rights, might well have been spared ; and say that it will not tend so much to your Majesty's dignity, and that of the realm, as to the injury of others.

To all such my answer is ready, and it shall be brief. To use many words would seem an affectation of fighting

with shadows, but to be quite silent might give a handle to malevolent censure.

The education I received from my father, (an excellent man, as is well known, and very tenacious of the old religion); the traditionary lesson, if I may so speak, delivered from my grandfather and great-grandfather, and my own disposition upon taking a part in public affairs ; all have concurred to make the love of my country, next to reverence of the supreme Being, the strongest passion of my heart. I do not put in competition with it private affections, and private gratifications. I entirely adopt the sentiment of the ancients, that our country is a second God, and the laws of our country other deities. Whoever violates them, whatever color of piety he may assume, is sacrilegious, and a parricide.

These rights, these laws, are the foundation upon which France has raised herself to her present extent of dominion, and eminence of grandeur.

If there be any (and I wish there were not) who would by degrees subvert these by mines and secret engines, aware that open force would not avail, we should not be good citizens, we should be unworthy of the name of Frenchmen, if we did not make resistance unto death.

It is the voice of our ancestors, men eminent for piety, that the preservation of the laws is the heavenly pledge of public safety, the palladium of our country. While we keep it in custody, we may defy foreign machinations; but if it be lost, we are no longer secure. If through our cowardice or remissness this should ever be stolen, there is no doubt but the robber, another Ulysses skilled in Grecian wiles, will, by suborning some Sinon, introduce into France a fatal horse pregnant with foreign soldiers. Then will this most flourishing part of Europe be laid waste by a conflagration, like that which levelled Troy with the ground.

God grant us a better fate! nor have we

this to fear, while your Majesty and the Dauphin are preserved to us.

24. The occasion would here require me to enlarge on your Majesty's virtues, to which we owe our lives, our country, and all that makes life desirable. But this will be expected by those who consider rather the ample ground of praise in the subject, than the moderate ability of the writer.

I have not indeed intended a panegyric, and I know your Majesty to be more gratified in the consciousness of performing good actions, than by the celebration of your praise.

25. You, Sire, deriving your pedigree upon certain testimonies from the male line of the most ancient and most noble family that ever swayed the sceptre, were born among the distant Pyrenees, and grew up amidst perils in the lap of adver-

^f Afterwards Lewis XIII. born September 23, 1601.

sity.^g After happily eluding the snares which encompassed your childhood, " at a more mature age you repelled with signal bravery the assaults of your enemies. In the hour of danger you came from the remote province of Guienne to assist the King either voluntarily or at his request; and the hand of Providence seemed to direct your steps, that a lawful heir might not be wanting to occupy the throne, destined to be soon vacant.

^g Henry IV. was born at Pau, the capital of Bearn, in 1553, of Anthony de Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, and Joan d'Albret. He descended from Robert de Clermont, 5th son of Lewis IX. (St Louis) Robert married the heiress of the Lord of Bourbon, and his descendants took the name.

^h The King of Navarre was just dead. His death indeed left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of seven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council (directed by the Queen-Mother and the Guises) were aimed, who acted in concert with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and all the Catholics of Europe.--Sully, vol. 1, p. 12.

F F

When in possession of power you tempered it with benignity and clemency, wishing to restrain disaffected minds by benefits rather than by fear. Such confidence did your virtue inspire, that your enemies placed their security more in your mercy, than in the defence provided by their own arms. Their grief, at their own defeat, was not so great as their joy, that you were the conqueror. From suppliants they immediately found themselves in the situation of friends and intimates: and the delinquents retained a more acute sense of their past offences than your Majesty, who, by your mildness made them regret that they had not sooner amended their error. This formed a much surer ground of dependance than the hazard of battle: and they could not but submit to him, whose career of glory was so irresistible, that the fortune of war no longer appeared impartial, nor victory winged, but both seemed inseparable from your Majesty's arms.

This felicity was crowned by vigilance, by unwearied labor, by patience of cold and heat, and hard fare. Assiduous by day and by night in military duties, in frost and rain, sparing of sleep, (which you took at intervals, on horseback, or wrapped in your cloak, on the bare ground, without detriment to your health,) you preserved by example, the most persuasive mode of ruling, necessary discipline. This, when the soldier's pay is interrupted, others with difficulty ensure by arbitrary power.

The enemy, even when superior in numbers, was taught to think you formidable: they retired into fortified places, and claimed from successful defence that honor, which victory conferred on your majesty. Under these circumstances it is not surprizing that they should eagerly embrace an opportunity, offered by Providence, of reconciliation.

Terrible in war, you assume the most amiable character during peace. The fine

arts regard you as their patron: and those immense edifices, raised with incredible celerity, with all their costly magnificence of tapestry, painting, sculpture, in the most exquisite workmanship, are monuments of the greatness of your mind, and of your attachment to peace, which no time will deface.

What is more than all, the muses, driven from their ancient seats by the rage of war, congratulate you as their restorer. Under your auspices, the university of Paris has revived; and by the accession of Isaac Casaubon, that luminary of the age, to the custody of your Majesty's truly royal library, it has lately acquired a splendid ornament.

Thus it is plain that the uninterrupted course of so many triumphs did not serve so much as a state of progression to more ambitious projects, as it inspired you with the resolution of cultivating peace with

The Louvre, Fontainebleau, &c.

your neighbours, and giving rest to your weary harassed people. Proceed, Sire, in this generous design; pursue the plan of confirming the peace, purchased at the expence of so many labors, by restoring vigour and authority to the laws. Assure yourself that the life and soul and judgment and understanding of the country center in the laws; and that a state without law, like a body deprived of its animating principle, is defunct and lifeless in its blood and members. Magistrates and judges are ministers and interpreters of the laws: and in fine, **WE ARE ALL SERVANTS OF THE LAWS, THAT WE MAY BE FREE.**

26. In the confidence of enjoying this freedom, I have composed my history, the first part of which I here present to the public, and dedicate it to your august name, for many just reasons, which concern both the author and the subject matter itself.

It would be ingratitude in me to forget the addition made by your Majesty to that honor, which I first received at the hands of your predecessor of blessed memory. In the course of my services in courts and in camps, I have been intrusted with many negotiations of importance; and have thus obtained much of the knowledge requisite for a work of this kind. Profiting by my intercourse with several illustrious persons, who had grown old in the court, I have reduced to the scale of truth many things that have appeared in scattered publications, or on uncertain authority. Whilst I formed part of your Majesty's retinue, I exerted my diligence on this object, until the obligation of my office confined me to this slavery of the bar.

I have had the honor to be known to your Majesty, not of yesterday, or for a short time—two-and-twenty years have elapsed since I came to you in Guienne,

on a mission from the king, with other delegates from the illustrious body of Parliament. From the urbanity and benevolence, with which you then treated me, I was induced at that time to hope that if ever my feeble talents produced any fruit, it would not be altogether unacceptable to your Majesty.

Another reason for inscribing this history to you is, that, as I have undertaken a work full of dangerous hazard, I stood in need of powerful patronage to screen me from the calumnious and malevolent; and also of that discerning judgment which your Majesty displays in the conduct of national affairs, to examine the truth of my relations.

By this judgment I have determined, as I ought, to abide, whether your Majesty shall recommend the publication of the remainder, or the suppression of this part, which is now not so much published, as presented to you by way of specimen.

Your determination or commands I shall consider as the words of a divine oracle. What you approve, I doubt not will be universally approved. If any differ from your Majesty's opinion, certainly it will be that class of men, whom the sport of fortune has elevated to an eminence ; but, having performed no action of note, they think a true relation of facts injurious to their reputation.

As it would be inconsistent with my honor to be subservient to the unjust expectations of these persons ; so I should make it a matter of conscience to pass over in silence their vices, which have often involved the country in calamities.

My preface concludes with a prayer :—

O God, the giver of all good things, who, with the only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit art three ; and in power, wisdom, and goodness, one ; who art in all things, didst exist before all things ; and

who, by thy Providence, orderest and disposest lawful governments, without which no family, city, or nation---not the whole race of mankind, nor the universal nature of things, created by thee out of nothing, can subsist: unto thee I make my public prayer for the welfare of my country. Confirm, I beseech thee, to us, that which thou hast brought to pass so much for the advantage of France, and therefore of all Christendom: prosper thine own work; perpetuate the great benefits thou in thy mercy hast bestowed; and, by preserving the King and the Dauphin, in one simple and comprehensive grant, fulfil all our petitions.

In their welfare, our peace, our security, our wealth, all our desires are comprised. Direct the councils of the sovereign to the establishment of that empire, which he rescued from destruction; until his son shall attain mature age, flourishing like a plant by the side of some pleasant river.

Under his shelter may posterity, in the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity, cultivate the illustrious arts of peace, and promote true piety and erudition.

But first vouchsafe to hear the prayers of pious Frenchmen, and grant to these princes a long united reign ; renew, under their influence, primitive faith and religion, primitive manners, the institutions of our forefathers, and the laws of our country. Confound the monstrous devices of new sects, the new-fangled notions in religion, and all other inventions subtilly imagined in times of ease for the delusion of persons of simple minds. Deliver us from schism, and let there be peace and security in the house of God, in men's consciences, and throughout the land.

Finally, O thou best and greatest of Beings, I beseech thee, through grace of thy Holy Spirit, without which we are nothing, and can effect nothing, that

liberty, fidelity, and truth, may be manifested in my writings to the present and future generations ; and may they be as free from the suspicion, as they are exempt from the necessity, of flattery and malevolence.

A. D. 1601.

APPENDIX, No. I.

POSTERITATI.

LIBERTATIS ego nimiae, verique quod acer
Assertor fuerim, vitiorumque horridus osor,
Et Romæ, et nostrâ passim traducor in aulâ.
Quid faciam ? quo me vertam ? quo iudice causam
Defendam ? Judex idem accusator et index.
Tu modo, Posteritas, ades incorrupta roganti,
Et patrocinium desertæ suscipe causæ :
Scripsimus ista tibi, nil nos ingrata moramur
Judicia, et vili plausus mercede redemptos
Nil admirantis præter præsentia vulgi.
Tempus erit, quo, nunc quæ non ita grata, placebunt ;
Cumque odio fuerit satis invidiæque litatum,
Præmia pro meritis constabunt justa labori.
Interea liceat mihi simplice crimina versu
Diluere objecta, et nostro jus præter inustas
Cum veniâ auctorum detergere nomine labes.
Libera lingua mihi est : quid si servilis ? an is qui
Me nunc accusat, non et reprehenderet idem
Tanquam vaniloquum, tanquam candoris inanem ?

Primus amor veri rectis in mentibus esse
 Debet, ut in caris etiam execremur amicis
 Omne animi vitium, contra admiremur in hoste
 Virtutes, Graius Pellæo iudice necne
 Barbarus ille fuit, nullo discrimine habentes.
 Hoc toto exacti decursu fecimus ævi,
 Nec fecisse piget; laudent culpentque susurris,
 Pruritus ad teneras quod mollibus excitet aures,
 Magnatum circa volitantes atria muscæ,
 Et fuci et parasitæ et hîc illæ nomine fletus
 Indigitanda cohors, nostræ insidiosa quieti,
 Ille boni dignus mihi civis habetur honores,
 Cui servare fidem vel cum discrimine vitæ
 Jacturæ suæ didicit, qui spernit honores,
 Detestatur avaritiam, fraudesque nefandas,
 Intus et esse pius mavult, quam fronte videri.
 Nulla fides hodiè barbæ, impexoque capillo,
 Nulla supercilio, rogisque severa professis.
 Imponunt externæ oculis; Deus abdita novit
 Solus, et arcanos rimatur pectore sensus:

Arguit ecce alius, quod amore odioque procul simi,
 Perpetuè quod noti usque ad fastidia laude,
 Putidus hos onerem, non illos asper acuto
 Dente secem plebisque vîntam convicia buccis.
 Atqui Gregorios laudavimus et Marcellos,
 Atque Pios, illumque imprimis, Hadria nomen
 Cui dedit, et Paullum privatâ laude merentem
 Ascribi antiquis; habuit nam Rôma probatos
 Pontifices; alios minus his et semper habebit;
 Sic sunt res hominum; nihil omni ex parte beatum.

Cuncti ad mensuram Superi Regnator Olympi
 Mensuræ ipse expers, tribuit mortalibus ægris.
 Nam quid Alexandro fiet, qui sacra profanis
 Miscuit, et gladio nil non et pyxide fecit?
 In caros quid avo nimium indulgente nepotes?
 Altius ut repetem, quid Julius *epros Agnos*,
 Italiæ cunctos qui non errante subegit
 Clave Duces? contra quid Julius alter ab illo,
 Allia qui vacuo dum grandia mordet in horto,
 Posthabuit levibus se digna negotia ludis?

Multa tegi sed enim, quam efferri in luminis auras
 Expediit. O Corydon, Corydon! arcana potentum
 Ulla putas? ut sint, minimè illos credera par est:
 Laudanda ut faciant, audere ut turpia cessent;
 Semper adesse putent, qui crimina tecta revelet,
 Et si quid peccent, nunquam sinat esse sepultum.
 Sola libidinibus lex est hæc dicta potentum,
 Ut metuant de se coram quid fama susurret
 Publica, quid veniens olim pronunciet ætas.
 In medio, quisquis rerum moliris habenas,
 Sic positas ædes te crede habitare, theatro,
 Liber uti partem pateat prospectus ad omnem,
 Perque gradus sedéant tanquam ad spectacula cives;
 Sic foris atque domi, sic corpore tutus aperto
 Poplicola alter eris, ipso te teste beatus;
 Invida nec metues plebeie verbera lingua,
 Nec Siculas inter menses, lautosque paratus
 Districtum cervice super trepidabis ob ense.

Quid quod scribendi petulantius, atque loquendi
 In procerum mores ipsa mos natus in urbe?

Fescennina quis ignorat ? quis ovata jocosis
 Inter cornicines nescit dicteria pompis ?
 Pasquilli cui sunt ignota sophismata ? cui sunt
 E medio responsa foro, quæ reddit amicus
 Vix prætextatis vix et referenda cinædis ?
 Annum Silvester claudit : vis cætera dicam ?
 Esuriunt vates : noscis quid deindè sequatur.
 Hactenus et nullis lasciva protervia pœnis
 Frænari potuit ; frustra custodia mutas ;
 Excubat ad statuas, vigilique satellite servat.
 Pasquillus nusquam furto deprensus in ipso est,
 Marforius semper loquitur, semperque loquétur.

Doctrinam at sanam nihil hæc dicteria tangunt,
 Æternamque fidem, quam Petrus in urbe cruore
 Et Paulus sanxere suo, quamque ordine longo,
 Semper eandem et ubique et ab omni gente probatam
 Inde ad nos series deducta ostendit avorum.

Non si quis liber, si verum dicere gaudet,
 Laudatorque boni, vitiis si parcere nescit,
 Continuò niger est, tibi vel, Romane, cavendus ;
 Non pietati adeo libertas pugnat avitæ.
 Ingenuâ siquid sum simplicitate locutus,
 Liberis siquid subitove quid excidit æstu,
 Non ego propterea lactantis ab ubere matris
 Abscessi et gremio : desertis non ego castris
 Miles in adversum migravi transfuga vallum.
 Non ego Smalcadicæ juravi fœdera pacis,
 Namnetumve dedi dextram inconsultus in urbe,
 Ambosæ turris frustra tentare paratus.
 Sed procul a turbis, omnique cupidine vitæ

Majorum constans in religione peregi,
 Semper et abstinui rebus per bella novandis.
 Ossatum sit fas post tempora summa citare,
 Ossatum tēstem, qui me juvenemque virumque
 Inque togā et trabeā, qui me intūs et in cute nōtat.
 Viveret ! haud tristis vexet censura columbas,
 Cunctave permittet laxata licētia corvis.
 Illumne appellem, qui nunc superatque vigetque
 Perronum, Aonidum spem præsidiumque Sororum ?
 Unus pro cunctis magni pars magna Senatūs,
 Tu, Franciscē, mihi es, rerum O tutela mearum.
 Tu mecum, tanto tu me complexus amore,
 Partiri suetus curas : scis strenuus in me
 Quid solidum crepet, aut mendoso tinniat ære,
 Candoremque meum, qui sit, re sæpē probasti,
 Sponsorem te proindē ac prædem huc denique sisto ;
 Ne, Franciscē, bonæ vadimonia desere causæ.
 At Protestantes laudas, quos nempē Vatini
 Debueras odisse odio; et cane pejus et angue.
 Eloquentium quidni laudem, ingeniumque colendis
 Artibus, et si quid calamo vel voce valebant ?
 Nam Siculi exemplo Diodori instructa paratur
 Bibliotheca viris, quos Mars amat atque Minerva,
 Quos Clarius, Clarii quos dilexere sorores.
 Hermeias hoc fecit idem, & fecisse disertē
 Gaudet, et hoc minimē facto peccasse fatetur.
 Ergo Leunclaius, Gesnerus, Fabriciusque
 Dictus honorificē, Camerarius atque Xylander,
 Junius et Votonus et Aschamus et Buchananus,
 Laudati Stephani, quēis tota Lycæa recusos

Egregiè ob veterum libros benè grata precantur,
 Insupèr et plures alii ; quid magnus Erasmus ?
 Mene in eum, cui res tantum literaria debet,
 Et debebit adhuc, genuinum stringere ? crimen,
 Vos, veneror, manes, hoc a me deprecor absit.
 At peccavit ; homo fuit atque humanus Erasmus ;
 Humanè et carpi voluit, placidèque moneri,
 Hem quis homo es, qui ferre alium nequis impro-
 be lapsu

Peccantem humano, cum tu deterrima pecces
 Interea, inque homines Divosque injuriùs ipsos,
 Obscœnasque cavo luctantis pectoris antro

- Admotà doleas face perlucere latebras ?
 Sunt hominum ætates variæ : juvenilitèr illum
 Exultasse stylo fateor ; verùm ultima semper
 Distractæ studiis spectanda est clausula vitæ,
 Quæ pulchra in Batavo fuit irreprehensaque cycno,
 Ad Belgas testis quam scripsit epistola fratres.

Hinc alii atque alii insurgunt, quibus altera leges
 Numina quod patrias dixi moresque receptos,
 Displicet, ignaris fundata crepidine quâ stet
 Publica res, quantoque tot usurpata per annos
 Legitimo in regno mutantur jura periclo.
 Imperiorum auctor Deus, imperiisque regendis
 Constituit leges, quas qui violaverit olim,
 Ultricem sciat ille paratam numinis iram,
 In Tiberim Sejanus ut alter scilicet unco
 Ducendus, meritâque adfectus morte Cethegus.
 Nunc et sacra vide quid in hanc rem pagina dicat
 Ne tu limitem agro positum metasve revele ;

Frigidus ecce rubos inter latet anguis acutos,
Si sapis, O mediam, pastor, ne dirue sepem.

Offendit Synodi Pisanæ et mentio quosdam,
Quam pius et memori recolendus pectore Gallis
Indixit Lodoicus, ut importuna minacis
Arma coerceret Juli, cœtusque fidelis
Tunc pulchro hærentes abolere et corpore sordes.
Narravi historiam; totum quæ nota per orbem,
An narrasse nefas, et erit narratio fraudi?
Propositum sed enim laudati principis ipse
Laudasti, et Sedem obliqui sermone notâsti.
Tu qui me arcessis, vitam non antè peractam
Arguis aut mores, sed verba jacentia tollis.
Emendari et quæ fieri meliora necesse
Tunc erat, ac penitus Babylonis nomina perdi,
Id non in tanto summè laudabile Rege
Procurare fuit, totasque impendere vires,
Sponsa Dei ne quâ vilesceret obsita rugâ,
Ullius offensæ querelæ aut causa subesset?
Atque utinam optatum potius sortita fuissent
Consilia eventum, quam postquam Julius omnem
Miscuit Italiam, ferro grassatus et igni:
Haud meliora viâ Leo grassaretur et ipse,
Cuncta suis sibi que indulgens ac sacra profanans;
Accensâ cineris concluso e fomite flammâ,
Quæ totam serpens invasit protinus orbem.
Non reliquo avulsi nunc corpore Teutones errent,
Anglia non laxis impulsa feratur habenis,
Anglia Aboriginum mox signa secuta suorum.
Rursus Pragmaticam objectant Caroli atque beati

Laudatam Lodoiei, indignanturque repostum,
Oblivi cæcâ mallent quod nocte sepultum,
Quid facias? Galli pridem, dum fata sinebant
Felices, hoc passim usi sunt jure, priusquam
Ulla infecisset miseros sectaria labes.

Nunc quia Germanos vexant vexantque Britannos
Pannoniasque duas longi contagia morbi,
Jure suo Gallos prohibent et legibus uti,
Et scriptis mandare quod usu et more receptum,
Tempore quod rebus tanto fuit utile nostris.
Idne æquum, cives, aut æquâ mente ferendum?

Postremo mihi crimen atrox et morte piandum
Objicitur, verbis quod sum insectatus amaris
Urbe Parisiâ lanienam manè patratam;
In Constantini quæ nunc & visitur aulâ,
Præcipuos inter Romæ depicta triumphos.
Tempora nil opus hic, loca sed distinguere; montes
Hanc citra vobis liceat, pia turba Quirites,
Illustrem laudare diem, et celebrare quotannis,
Per Vaticanas alternis dicere cellas,
Eumenides Siculæ, sacra vespertina canamus.
Non eadem Gallis, Italis quæ læta videntur:
Quisque suo gaudet sensu. Tu mellea credis,
Alterius quæ sunt absinthia tetra palato.
Laudem ego, tantorum quod apud nos causa malorum
Exstitit, et porro seclis erit usque futuris?
Quod cunctas gentes inter populosque propinquos
Gallorum infami deturpat crimine nomen,
Quodque tot edietis damnavimus? hoc ego laudem,
Implevit trepidas quod suspicionibus urbes,

Libertatem odiis dedit, immanique cruoris
Per cædes populos fundendi accendit amore ?
Non execrer ego potius, dirasque nefando
Indicam sceleri, legum quod vincla resolvit,
Quod pacem turbat, regni quâ publica constat
Alma Salus, summo quam passim Ecclesia tota
A rerum Domino conceptâ voce precatur,
Temporibusque suis optat contingere supplex ?
Vos quoque, Dardanius Sanguis, quibus otia blanda,
Et plumæ molles, et corda oblita laborum
Securam spondent æternâ in pace quietem,
Damna aliena ad vos qui nil spectare putatis ;
Ex improviso si martius ingruat horror,
Hispanisque ferox opibus post funera victor
Carolus in mediâ ponat vexilla Suburrâ,
Nocturnisve dolis Albanus mœnia pulset ;
Sera licet, tandem capiet miseratio nostri,
Invisæque adeo pacis pia cura subibit.
Quod mihi, quod cuiquamve, potest contingere cuivis.
Sunt exempla domi. Scit dives Avenio quondam,
Quâ Serbelloni luerit mercede furorem
Roma potens, quantisque laboribus atque periclis
Constiterit sævas expertus Arausio flammæ,
Væ nimium vestris vicinus Arausio terris.
Quid si animis idem redeat furor, et quod ubique
Multi urgent laris expertes et jura gravati
Exlegesque, domi nascens lachrymabile bellum
Invadat placidas turbato fœdere gentes ;
Naufraga si toties puppis non horreat undas,

Nec fœdis pelagi tot conflictata procellis
 Illisum trapedet scopulis affigere rostrum ;
 O quanti ex illo motus errore sequentur ?
 Quæ tantas inter sat erunt solatia clades,
 Lymphatus cum vasta dabit Mars omnia circum,
 Sanguis ubique fluet, deserto nullus in agro,
 Vallatâ rarus visetur in urbe sacerdos :
 Si quis erit, diris probrisque a plebe petetur,
 Fons quasi tantorum fomesque caputque malorum.
 Et sanè ut fucò verum quæramus omisso,
 Quam partem in turbis Christus sibi vindicat istis ?
 Cognatas socialis amor qui jungere mentes
 Debet, ubi est, sine quo virtutum cætera turba
 Friget ? ubi innocuus pudor, et reverentia legum,
 Quois servire bono libertas maxima civi ?
 Ut verbo expediam, belli civilis in aëe,
 Si totum excutias, non est semuncia recti,
 Non fidei aut priscæ pietatis scrupulus unus.
 Ponite jam gladios igitur, qui corpora lædunt,
 Trojugenæ, ferrumque animas quod dividit anceps
 Sumite, sidereâ ferrum fornace recoctum,
 Et lachrymis precibusque Deum placate potentem,
 Hæc vos arma decent : multis sectaria pestis
 Non culpa est, culpæ sed debita pœna putatur,
 Quo minus in tali licet excandescere casu,
 Si vitio humana lapsæ, non crimine, mentes
 Doctrinæ cujusque leves agitantur ab aura ?
 His blandi affatus monstros, mansuetaque corda,
 His opponenda est melior doctrina piorum

E prisco pōenda penu cellāque parentum ;
Non tela atque cruces, quibus irritabile turbæ
Segregis ingenium tantos ciet orbe tumultus.

Jamque mihi oppositos casses livoris iniqui
Retiaque et nodos pius evasisse videbar,
Cum subitò a lævâ purgatam vellicat aurem,
Ingeminatque Patris monitor venerabile nomen:
Cujus ego cineres et manes ritè sepultos
Sollicitavi amens, conturbavique quietem,
Invitum excusasse diem cum diximus illam,
Obligat infando quæ Gallica sceptrā pīaclo.
Patris ego cineres placidos manesque revelli ?
Patris ego nomen læsi ? pro numine nomen :
Quod mihi semper erit, cujus spiransque recensque
Usque magis noctem atque diem observatur Imago.
Quicquid ago, quicquid meditor vel mente revolvō,
Semper adest ; culpæ tanquam objurgator acerbus,
Si quid deliqui ; si quid laudabile conor,
Instat agens, stimulosque animis properantibus addit.
Ille mihi ante oculos majorum exempla meorum,
Dictaque præclarè, generosè et facta reponit.
Ille refert proavos ad mœnia celsa Genabi
Fortitèr occubuisse focos arasque tuentes :
Ille refert Marlam bis centum circiter ante
Palatī Quæstorem annos, equitumque Magistrum,
Ambos devotos, ambos pro rege ruentes,
Immanæ plebis rabidæ satiāsse furorem.
Jam Deganaium quid ego, pacalis Olivæ
Heroem quid ego memorem de nominēdictum,
Officio, atque arctā consanguinitate propinquos ?

Nec me degenerem ventura redarguet ætas,
 Plura habiti cupidum non incusabit habendi,
 Præfocante animos non ambitione furentem,
 Non simulatricis grassantem fraudibus artis
 Infestas quæ nunc virtutibus obsidet aulas,
 Et caligantùm præstinguit lumina Regum.

Vos, O majorum cineres, teque optime longis
 Solliciti genitor defuncte laboribus ævi
 Testor, pro patriâ nullas regniue salute
 Vitavisse vices, vestrâ virtute meâque
 Indignum nil fecisse, et, si fata tulissent,
 Prodessem ut patriæ, patriæ succurrere, livor
 Absistat, pietate meâ meruisse petenti.
 Pura ad vos anima, atque hodiernæ nesciâ culpæ
 Descendam, quandoque novissima venerit hora,
 Nostraque sub tacitos ibit fama integra manes.
 Nunc quia fata obstant, manifestâ & percitus irâ
 Consiliis placidas sanis Deus obstruit aures,
 Quod puer augurium præsago pectore feci,
 Cum canerem aerias acies, pugnasque volantùm,
 In flexu ætatis senique in limine firmo,
 Invidiæ cedo, & fasces trabeamque resigno.

March 15, 1611.

This is the Prophecy to which he alludes, written twenty-seven years before, at the end of his *Art of Falconry* :

Atque aliquis longo cineres post tempore nostros
 Miratus viridi tum latos cespe, dicet,

Huic quanquam in plumis fortunâque amplâ
Contigerit nasci, et superarent gratia opesque,
Quas teneris hodiè cuncti mirantur ab annis,
Majorum quamvis repetentem exempla suorum
Gentis honos et laudis amor, clarique Parentis
Fama recens majora etiam sperare juberet;
Otia Musarum tamen, ignotosque recessus
Maluit ille sequi, scopulosque aulæque procellas
Effugere, & vanos hominum contemnere fumos.
Maluit ille hederas, et lauros sponte virentes,
Quam spolia, et macrâ pingues de pace triumphos.

APPENDIX, No. II.

A SPECIMEN OF SCIOPIUS'S CRITICISMS ON THUANUS'S STYLE.

BARBARISMS.

Aboletus—for *abolitus*.

Coliturus—for *culturus*.

SOLECISMS.

Intro erant—for *intus erant*.

Incommodare aliquem—for *alicui*.

FOREIGN IDIOMS.

Cum tempore—for *procedente tempore in posterum, &c.*

Probare—for *experiri*.

Ad minus—for *saltem, duntaxat*.

MODERN IDIOMS.

Vir nupsit puellæ—for *uxorem ducit puellam*.

Ad mortem damnare—for *capitis condemnare*.

Per transennam—for *præterire in transitu, &c.*

There is only one obsolete expression—*vitulabundus*.

APPENDIX, No. III.

THE EXORDIUM OF THE 127th BOOK OF
THUANUS'S HISTORY.

IN desideratissimi Principis, qui nunc jucundo Ludovici nomine feliciter imperat, auspicato natali, cum antè sexennium scribendi finem fecissem, non putabam fore, ut ullâ ratione adductus finito potiùs quam intermisso operi manum denùo admoverem. Satis quippè publicæ expectationi, satis ad famam factum existimabam, historiâ per bella plusquam civilia ad pacem toto orbe Christiano Henrici Magni virtute ac beneficio partam deductâ. Nam ab eo tempore nihil ferè memorabile apud nos gestum: tantum quædam domestica, ac majorem partem tristia occurrunt, nequaquam cum superioris ævi rebus comparanda. Multa etiam conantem deterrebant, recenti adhuc sensu indignæ gratiæ mihi pro tot evigilatis in publicam utilitatem ad nominis Gallici gloriam laboribus repensæ, quæ in præterita & instantia respicientem meliùs de futuro ominari non sinebant; præsertim cum mihi deinceps cum iis vivendum esset, quos iniquos ab initio expertus, si ultrâ pergerem, implacabiles habiturus eram.

Nam ad cæteras molestæ fortunæ importunitates hic cumulus accessit, ut cum seriò de secessu cogitarem, æstu contrario abreptus in aulæ scopulos rejicerer, quibus affixus animi in horas penderem, & qui in legum obsequio antea conquiescebam, nunc pristina libertate novo servitio emancipatâ, precarium veluti spiritum alieno nutu ducerem.

Ita cum per illorum ipsorum, quibuscum mihi res est, sive astum, sive livorem, privato vivere non liceat, non solum laboris ingrati necessitas imposita est, sed adversus invidiam & potentiorum odium periculosum certamen propositum; in quo si succumbam ignaviæ, si pertendam, contumaciæ pertinacis crimen mihi subeundum sentio. Vix enim dici potest, quantum vitæ præteritæ innocentia, ac præcipuum veritatis studium mihi inter nostros odium conciliaverit, quam graves inimicitias ingenua mea libertas, & alienus ab omni fuco ac factione animus excitaverit, ut quicquid deinceps facturus dicturusque sim, si remissiùs ad metum, si generosiùs ad ultionem sunt ii relaturi, qui majorem partem hodiè efficiunt, & de aliorum famâ et existimatione ex suo sensu, non rectâ ratione, plerumque judicium ferunt.

Hæc & alia, quæ deliberanti in mentem veniebant, ejusmodi erant, ut constantissimum quemque ab omni præclaro consilio deterrere potuerint: me vero assiduâ fortunæ adversantis ictibus fractum istuc ætatis admonere, ut quieti consulerem, nec in invidioso opere industriam meam diutiùs fatigarem.

Sed facile fuit hominem patriæ caritatis amore captum, quique recta consilia et honesta emolumentis omnibus et commodis semper anteposuit, in re præsertim, in quâ publica utilitas cum privatis rationibus certat, a sententiâ dimovere. Nam cum amici non in Galliâ solùm, ubi plerique mihi metuentes potiùs quiescendum suadebant, sed externi a periculo remotiores ex Hispaniâ, Italiâ, Germaniâ, Britanniâ, Belgio, Pannoniâ, atque adeo ultimâ Livoniâ perliteras quotidie ad rem persequendam hortarentur, nihilque reliqui facerent, quo me jacentem erigerent, & alacritatem pristinam, quam sæculi ingritudinem pertæsus amiseram, proposita publicâ utilitate in me renovarent, eorum tam enixam studium in eam, quam ipsi volebant partem, interpretatus, mihi tandem persuaderi sum passus, ut si otium nactus essem, eorum desiderio simul, & publicæ utilitati aliquando satisfacerem.

Sed sive ad tristem rerum faciem hebescente, sive desuetudinē scribendi pigrescente animo, sive denique ob recentem molestiarum exantlatarum memoriam restitante, rem de die in diem protelabam; cum casus intervenit prodigio propior, non solum Gallis sed cunctis orbis nationibus lamentabilis, interitus Henrici magni, qui magnum momentum ad omnem dubietatem tollendam attulit. Enimvero cum principem his deploratissimis temporibus quasi cælo delapsum post tot egregia facta omnes sibi boni superstitem cuperent, mali etiam in ejus longiore vitâ præsidium sibi repositum putarent, fieri non

potuit, quim tam indignâ ejus morte variè animi sint affecti, cum alii propriam jacturam dolerent, alii rerum merita reputantes publicâ commiseratione non citra indignationem moverentur; alii denique præsentium sensu in impendentium malorum considerationem non sine ingenti animorum consternatione raperentur. Ego certè, qui præcipuo pietatis sensu tangerer, minimè mihi satisfactum putabam, nisi Principis de orbe Christiano tam benè mèriti manibus singulari ac peculiari officio parentarem.

Itaque eâdem facilitate quâ tantæ molis opus ab initio sum aggressus, nunc quoque me vinci passus sum, ut præteritorum memoriam sempiternâ oblivione eruerem; & obfirmato contra calumnias & obtrectiones animo, intûs conscientiâ tutus, de cætero securus, fidem amicis datam liberarem. Et quando Deus Opt. Max. me tanto Principi præter spem & contra votum superesse voluit, quaecunque otium in hoc aulico comitatu nactus, decrevi reliqua vitæ ejus, hoc est decennii quod sequitur res gestas scriptis commendarem.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

THUANI TESTAMENTUM.

In nomine sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis.

QUONIAM Deo ita visum ut uxor mea carissima Gaspara Chastrea, quam mihi fore superstitem semper speraveram et optabam, turbato ordine naturæ, prior decesserit, ego Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, omnium maximus ac miserrimus peccator, morte ejus luctuosissimâ admoneor, ut de meâ seriò cogitem, et de rebus meis hoc ultimæ voluntatis meæ elogio statuam.

Ante omnia gratias quam possum maximas ago Deo omnipotenti, quod me ex fidelibus parentibus nasci voluerit, in ecclesiâ suâ per sacrum lavacrum regeneraverit, meque in eâ sacramentorum suorum participem effecerit, & fidem vivam, non mortuam in animo meo impresserit, adjunctâ æternæ vitæ spe, quæ in eo consistit, ut credamus in Deum, et quem misit, filium dilectissimum, Verbum æternum ante sæcula genitum, JESUM CHRISTUM; qui conceptus de Spiritu sancto in utero beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ carnem in sæculo sumpsit; in eâ natus, passus,

mortuus, et sepultus est; in eâ resurrexit, ascendit in cœlum, captivam ducens captivitatem, & indè largissimè dona hominibus distribuit, pro consummatione promissorum misso Spirito Sancto a Patre Filioque procedente.

In hâc fide me vivere profiteor; et ut in eâ ad ultimum vitæ spiritum constantèr ac sine hæsitatione perseverem, assiduis quantum possum precibus ac lachrynis a Deo contendo: immensamque ipsius clementiam oro et obtestor, ut me in peccatis et iniquitatibus conceptum ab humanæ infirmitatis pollutionibus repurget, dignumque ex indigno per misericordiam suam efficiat, in quo tanquam in templo suo habitare dignetur, mihiq; passionis filii sui dilectissimi JESU CHRISTI meritum ad expiationem peccatorum applicet; ut quum novissima vita hora non improvisa venerit, ab angelis suis in sinum Abrahæ raptus cum sanctis et electis suis æternâ felicitate perfruar.

Hæc præfatus, liberis meis, quos ex humanissimâ et insolabiliter, nisi quatenus in resurrectione spes, mihi semper lugendâ conjuge suscepi, tutores do nminoque Henricum Chastræum Nancæi comitem illius fratrem, Henricum Burdeliæ Vice-comitem Petrocoriorum præsidem, Ludovicum vicinum ab Ambrâ, sororios meos; et quia propter locorum distantiam semper adesse non possunt, eis adjungo Joannem Thumerium Bossissium sacri consistorii adsistorem, Renatum Thuanum Bonnolium fratris filium, Jacobum Gillo tum, Cyprianum Perrotum, senatores Parisienses: quos omnes et singulos rogo ut educationis liberorum

meorum et administrationis bonorum curam habeant, consilioque suo et auctoritate juvent eum quem onerarium tutorem nomino ac constituo Martinum Paridem in Senatu advocatum, amicum ac familiarem meum; cui et ejus uxori, quam mea semper unice dilexit, habitationem in ædibus meis hæc in urbe, quam commodè fieri poterit, ex tutorum consilio assignandam, do, lego, quamdiu tutela durabit.

Bona mea mobilia et pretiosam suppellectilem, si fieri potest, vendi ac distrahi nolo: sed quæ servari poterunt, eousque servari cupio, quousque eorum inter hæredes meos fiat divisio.

Bibliothecam meam XL. amplius annorum spatio magnâ diligentia ac sumptu congestam, quam integram conservari non solum familiæ meæ, sed etiam rei literariæ interest, dividi, vendi, ac dissipari veto, eamque communem cum numismatis antiquis aureis argenteis et æreis inter filios, qui literis operam navabunt, facio, ita ut etiam exteris aliisque philologis ad usum publicum pateat. Ejus custodiam Petro Puteano cognato meo et multis nominibus mihi caro, donec filii adolescant, committo, qui et libros MSS. iis qui opus habebunt utendos dare poterit, modo de illis restituendis idoneè caveatur.

Eum præterea et Nicolaam Rigaltium in Senatu advocatum et regiæ bibliothecæ curatorem, virum doctissimum ac juxta probum, rogo, ut filiorum meorum in literis institutionem consilio et industria sua adjuvent, amicitiaque nostræ memores eos officiosè invisant, et præceptoribus eorum præsto sint.

H H

Historiarum mearum quas ad Dei gloriam et publicam utilitatem sine odio et gratia, Deum ipsum testor et homines, conscripsi, paratam editionem, si ante quam ipsa edatur moriar, iisdem committo; præcipioque ut eà in re Sammarthanorum fratrum, qui me in toto opere multum operam suam et diligentiam adjuverunt, consilio utantur.

Lucubrationes item omnes alias meas fidei eorundem Puteani et Rigaltii committo.

Dominam a Burdelia et Dominam ab Ambrà dilectissimæ uxoris nuper defunctæ sorores enixè ac demissè quantum possum obsecro, ut quâ pietate et caritate matrem complexæ sunt, eadem liberos ejus prosequantur, ac præsertim filiarum curam commendatam habeant, sive in iis matrimonio dignè elocandis sive velandis; quod ante ætatem legibus præscriptam et coactè fieri veto.

Corpus meum quandocunque et ubicunque me mori contigerit, juxta corpus uxoris nunquam sine honoris elogio et acerbitatis sensu nominandæ tumulari mando, quod ubi futurum sit, nondum decrevi, et codicillo seorsim, si longior vita suppetet, indicabo; quo et mihi integrum servo de rebus aliis meis, legatis et largitionibus in eos qui nunc sunt, et post in meâ familiâ erunt, erogandis ampliùs statuendi, ita tamen ut nihil huic meæ voluntatis testationi derogetur, quam firmam, validam ac ratam esse volo.

Ego Jac. Aug. Thuanus corpore validus, ceterum de morte quâsi in propinquo sit Christianè cogitans, propriâ manu scripsi ac subscripsi. Actum in ædibus

Palatinis illustrissimi Achillis Harlæi quondam senatus principis meritissimi, sororii mei, ad quas dolori tanto solitudinem quærens me contuleram.

July 13, 1616.

F I N I S.

Printed by J. D. DEWICK,
Aldersgate Street.

NEW WORKS

*Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme,
Paternoster-row.*

1. **THE TRAVELS of BERTRANDON DE LA BROC-QUIERE**, Counsellor and First Esquire Carver to Philippe Le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, to Palestine, and his return from Jerusalem, over land, to France, during the years 1432 and 1433, extracted and put into modern French from a Manuscript in the National Library at Paris. Translated by Thomas Johnes, Esq. M. P. in one Vol. 8vo. illustrated with a Map of Tartary, price 12s. in boards.

2. **THOUGHTS on the EFFECTS of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE STATE OF INDIA**; accompanied with Hints concerning the means of conveying Civil and Religious Instruction to the Natives of that Country. By the Rev. William Tennant LL.D. late Chaplain to his Majesty's Troops, in Bengal.

By the same Author,

3. **INDIAN RECREATIONS**; consisting chiefly of Strictures on the Domestic and Rural Economy of the Mahomedans and Hindoos.

The Second Edition, with considerable Additions. In two vols. 8vo. Price 18s. in boards.

4. **ILLUSTRATIONS of the SCENERY of KILLARNEY**, the surrounding Country, and a considerable Part of the Southern Coast of Ireland, by Isaac Weld, Esq. M. R. I. A. in One Vol. 4to. with numerous Plates, Price 2l. 2s. and on Royal Paper, with first Impressions of the Plates, Price 3l. 3s. in Extra Boards.

* * The Plates are executed in the best manner by Mid-
diman, Landseer, Byrne, Smith, Storer, Greig, &c.

"In Mr. Weld this illustrious and beautiful scenery has found an accurate and able Delineator. His pen and his pencil have both been employed with effect, and we have seldom seen a Work that combines more Classical illustrations with a higher degree of Graphic excellence."
Oxford Rev. May, 1807.

5. **THE PLAYS of W. SHAKESPEARE**, printed from the Text of Samuel Johnson, George Steevens, and Isaac Reed; embellished with elegant Vignette Engravings, from Paintings by Howard, Smirk, Stothard, Thompson, Westall, &c. in 12 Vols. 8vo. finely printed by Ballantyne of Edinburgh, Price 6l. 6s. in Boards; or, on Royal Paper, with proof Impressions of the Plates, 10l. 16s.

